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WILLIAM COELHO

THE HOYSALA VAMŚA

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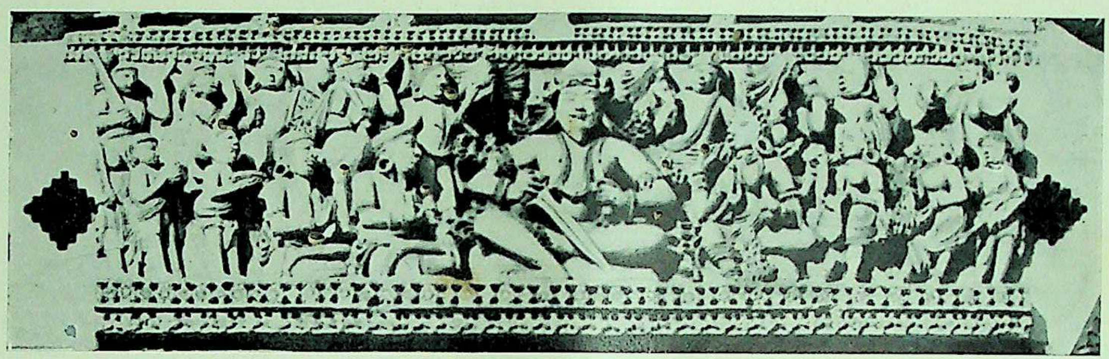

VISHṆUVARDHANA HOLDING A DARBAR, KEŚAVA TEMPLE OF BELUR

By Kind Permission of the Director of Archaeology, Mysore State

THE HOYSALA VAMSA

BY

William Coelho

WITH A FOREWORD
BY

Rev. H. Heras, S. J.

पुस्तक क्रम संख्या
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STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY
OF THE
INDIAN HISTORICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
ST. XAVIER'S COLLEGE, BOMBAY

No. 11

THE HOYSALA VAMŚA

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Foreword

There are some periods of Indian history which have been styled "dark", not because of the objective lack of enlightenment in the country during these periods, but because of the subjective lack of knowledge about them we actually possess. One of these periods is that covered by this book, and on this account the book is heartily welcome to the world of scholarship.

Prof. William Coelho took the matter from the hands of Mr. J. F. Fleet and Mr. B. Lewis Rice who had done pioneer work in the field of Kannada history; and especially with the help of innumerable inscriptions published by the latter, he has been able to reconstruct the whole history of the Hoysaḷa Dynasty, one of the Dynasties that shaped most definitely the destinies of Southern India. The lamented Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar had already studied the unrelenting struggle of the Hoysaḷas against the Muslim power of Northern India. This struggle is here studied more adequately and in its proper setting. The Hoysaḷas gloriously perished in that struggle, but thanks to their sacrifice, they succeeded in delaying the formal Muslim invasion of the South by several centuries. The Empire of Vijayanagara arose out of the ruins of the Hoysaḷa Empire as a new phoenix bird out of the ashes of its progenitor.

Such is briefly the period systematically studied in this book, a period that leads us from mythical legendary accounts of the middle ages down to the portals of modern history; a period which witnessed the appearance of the *Pampa Rāmāyana*, a work famous in Kannada literature, and ennobled the plastic arts of India with innumerable temples, which testify to the religiosity of both rulers and the ruled, as well as to the high aesthetics of those architects and sculptors. The filigree decorations of the Hoysaḷa sculptures, especially in the temples of Vellore, Halebid and Somanathapur are unique in the varied field controlled by the Indian *śilpa-śāstras*.

The knowledge which Prof. Coelho has of the Kannada language enhances the originality of his work. He has been able to read the Hoysaḷa inscriptions in the original. They were the main sources of information while composing his work; they are like open pages of ancient history written on stone or metal found all over the Kannada country. The knowledge they give of the contemporary events of the land is translated here for the contemplation of future generations. Let the people of our free India emulate the glories of that memorable past. The *Hoysaḷa Vaṁśa* will be for all a mirror of radiance, the sheen of the shining.

H. HERAS, S. J.

Bombay, 30th September, 1949.

Introduction

The Hoysaḷa dynasty is not unknown to the student of Indian History. The kings of the dynasty flourished in Southern India, especially in the Kannada regions, in the middle ages, from the beginning of the eleventh century to the middle of the fourteenth, until they were overthrown by the Muhammedan invaders from the north. In its political aspect the supremacy of the Hindu kings of the Hoysaḷa dynasty over Southern India links up the Chalukya period which preceded them with that of the Vijayanagara kings who held sway over the south after their downfall. Thus there was an unbroken continuity of Hindu rule over Southern India down to the eighteenth century, a fact which partly explains the prevalence of a comparatively purer Hindu culture in those parts. The mideaval period of South Indian history is indeed a glorious period of Hindu culture, and in this the Hoysaḷas, more perhaps than any other dynasty, contributed to the development of art and architecture, religion and literature.

This book, however, deals only with the political history of the Hoysaḷa period. As the title of the book indicates, the story of the *vaṁśa*, or the family, or the dynasty, is the main subject treated here, though separate chapters on the social and religious life of the people are added; together with a brief account of the historical background of the art and architecture of the period. This addition is a corollary to the main theme, and is made rather to complete the story of the Hoysaḷas than to expatiate on the life of the people.

It is not that the life of the people, or the internal history of the South Indian people during the Hoysaḷa period, is less important than its political history. It may in fact assume a much greater importance now that attempts are being made to call back to life the cultural glory of ancient India by way of supplying a sure foundation for the nationalism of modern India. The vast amount of material that is now available on life in Hoysaḷa times, and especially the increasing volume of archaeological and epigraphical reports on South India that are being published every year will induce South Indian scholars to write exhaustively on the subject for the benefit of the public.

The political history of the Hoysaḷas received attention from scholars for over half a century and valuable articles on the subject were written from time to time. But not until a large number of Hoysaḷa inscription were translated and published was it possible to write a sizable treatise. As there was sufficient material for the task after the publication of the inscriptions and as the subject was deemed important, the author undertook to write this thesis.

The manuscript was written some years ago to qualify for the M. A. Degree of the University of Bombay, and though many more inscriptions have since been published, the author did not find new material sufficiently important to warrant a radical alteration in the narrative of the political history already written. The new material however throws much light on the social history of the period and supplies additional and valuable information on art and architecture.

References to sources and literature on the subject are made in the foot notes where abbreviations are used for epigraphical and archaeological reports and also for journals. Thus E. C. stands for Epigraphia Carnatica, E. I. for Epigraphia Indica, M. A. R. for Mysore Archaeological Reports. I. A. for Indian Antiquary, J. M. S. for the Journal of the Mythic Society, J. R. A. S. for the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society; J. B. B. R. A. S. for the Journal of Bombay Branch Royal Asiastic Society, I. H. Q. for the Indian Historical Quartely and J. I. H. for the Journal of Indian History.

This book was written in the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, under Father Heras's guidance which is gratefully acknowledged here.

State Museum,
LUCKNOW.

To
The memory of my mother
Annie Coelho

CONTENTS

PAGE

Foreword V

Introduction VII

Chapter I. The Origin of the Hoysaḷas , . 1

Chapter II. Saḷa 12

Chapter III. Nripa Kamā Hosaḷa. A. D. 1022–1027 25

Chapter IV. Vinayāditya. A. D. 1063-1100 . . 30

Chapter V. The Yuvarāja Eṛeyanga. A. D. 1047-1100 47

Chapter VI. Ballāḷa I. (1101-1104) . . . 57

Chapter VII. Vishṇuvardhana. A. D. 1104-1141 . 68

Chapter VIII. The Court of Vishṇuvardhana. . . 97

Chapter IX. Narasiṁha I. A. D. 1141-1173 . . 115

Chapter X. Ballāḷa II. A. D. 1173-1220 . . 133

Chapter XI. Naṛasiṁha II. A. D. 1220-1235 . . 169

Chapter XII. Sōmēśvara. A. D. 1235-1256 . . 184

Chapter XIII. Narasiṁha III. A. D. 1254-1291 . 198

Chapter XIV. Rāmanātha. A. D. 1254-1295. And Viśvanātha. A. D. 1295-1297 . . 210

Chapter XV. Ballāḷa III. A. D. 1291-1342. And Ballāḷa IV. A. D. 1341-1345 . 221

Chapter XVI. Political and Social Life . . . 252

Chapter XVII. Features of Religious Life . . . 280

Chapter XVIII. Hoysaḷa Architecture . . . 296

INDEX 307

CHAPTER I

The Origin of the Hoysalas

Naturally obscure on account of its antiquity the origin of the Hoysaḷa Dynasty presents a very ambiguous problem, on account of the two diametrically opposite theories which suggest themselves from tradition and from inscriptions. The former says that the Hoysaḷas are Yādavas by descent, while from the latter one arrives at the conclusion that they were purely of an indigenous origin. Apart from Puranic interest the word 'Yādavas' has a true historic significance, and it would be interesting to trace their invasion to the south and their influence over the Dravidian races.

The Yādavas belonged to the Lunar race as distinguished from the Solar race. To speak of them is to speak of the early Aryans, for they were none other than Aryans themselves who first invaded India in the prehistoric times. This suggestion has lent itself from the study of ethnology and philology, side by side with the *Purāṇas* and the *Vēdas*. Mr. C.V. Vaidya quoting Dr. Hornle says there were two Aryan races who invaded India at different times and settled in this country. The first, long headed Aryans, settled in the Punjab and Rajputana; while the second, who were broad-headed, mixed with the Dravidians, and their descendents are now found from Ambala in the north to Kathiawar in the south-west, Juppulpore in the south-east and Nepal in the north-east[1]. Mr. Vaidya has identified these two migrations with the two Aryan races of the Sun and the Moon. Though the mention of the Solar and Lunar races as such was first made in the epics, yet there is ample evidence of Aryan invasion in the *Vēdas,* which apparently is a contemporary writing[2]. By the time the epics were written the Aryan invasion must have been a thing of the past and naturally tradition was enveloped in myth giving supernatural descents to the then reigning kings. From the words 'Solar' and 'Lunar' it can be concluded that the races whom they represent enjoyed a high social status creating their genealogy from the Sun and Moon. Such things are not uncommon in history, for the Greeks used to make their heroes the sons of gods, and later the Mexicans looked upon the Spaniards as the children of the Sun.

The origin of the solar race is given thus in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*:—"Before the evolution of the Mundane egg, existed Brahma, who was Hiraṇyagarbha, the form of that supreme Brahman which consists of Vishṇu as identical with the Rig, Yajur, and Sāma Vēdas, the primeval uncreated cause of all worlds. From the right thumb of Brahma was born the Patriarch Daksha; his daughter was Aditi, who was the mother of the Sun. The Manu Vivaswata was the son of the celestial luminary, and his sons were Ikshwāku, Nriga, Dhrishta, Śaryāti, Narishyanta, Prānśu, Nābhāga, Nedishta, Karūsha and Prishadhra"[3]. From these descended the semi-historic heroes of the epic, such as Rāma descendent of Ikshwāku. Among the dynasties of the south the Gangas claimed descent from the Solar Vaṁśa.

The descent of the Lunar race is again given in detail in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. Omitting laudations the genealogy runs thus:—Atri was the son of Brahma. The son of Atri was Sōma (Moon), whose son was Budha, whose son was Pururavas, whose son was Āyus. One of his sons was Nahusha and his son Yayāti, whose eldest son was Yadu[1]. From here the genealogy branches out into enormous proportions, but reference to it will be made when speaking of the kings of the south. Yadu was the progenitor of the Yādavas amongst whom was born Kṛishṇa; they established their power in Rajputāna[2]. Kṛishṇa built the city of Dwārakā in Kathiawar and sent the Yādavas thither[3]. It is from this branch that the Yādavas of Dēvagiri and the Hoysaḷas claim descent. This second batch of Aryan invaders, who have been identified with the Lunar race, came through Kashmir and passed through the territory of the Saraswati or Ambala downwards, as far south as Kathiawar, and further south covering the Bhoja kingdoms. The *Vēdas* and the *Purāṇas* often speak of the clash between the Solar and the Lunar races, which must have ceased after the lapse of a long period when both the races were merged into one and known by the name of Kshatriyas, as distinguished from the Dravidians and other native races of India.

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[1] *B. B. R. A. S.*, XXIV, p. 61.

[2] Ibid., p. 64.

[3] Wilson, *Vishnu Purana*, p. 348.

This brings us to the stage when the Aryans crossed the Vindhyas to begin the constant fueds with the native races.

From the *Purāṇas* it is to be noted that Agastya was the first to cross the Vindhyas. Then in the *Rāmāyaṇa* we see how the armies of the north joined the monkeys of the south to oust the Rakshasas. Some authors have attempted to identify the monkey race with the short black Dravidians of the south. When the Aryans came to the south there were already well organised communities and hence they were not successful in subjugating them entirely to their line of civilization[4].

Turning to the early dynasties of the south who held their own against the northern invaders, we come to the Chēras, the Chōḷas and the Paṇḍyas. That these dynasties were very ancient and yet in a very prosperous condition can be concluded from the *Ramāyaṇa*. Here the monkey-soldiers are directed to go to the countries of the Andhras, the Pāṇḍyas, the Chōḷas and the Kēraḷas in the south, and are told that they will then see the gate of the city of the Pāṇḍyas adorned with gold and jewels [1]. At this period there seems to have been a free intermigration on the border line of the Vindhyas; for while the Chēras and other southern dynasties claim to have conquered some countries in the north, the Aryans seem to have settled in the south. The *Purāṇas* say that the descendents of Ānu settled in Anga, Vanga and Kaḷinga, and that the Yādava Andhira had four sons Kēraḷa, Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Karṇāṭa [2]. Though this statement cannot be taken without caution yet it reveals that the two races from the north and south had mixed together. The Aryan influence in the south can be detected from the history of religion. It is well-known, for instance, that Jainism was much propagated in Karṇāṭaka from the time of the Mauryas. Now the Jainas were not natives of the south, and they must have invaded the south in very early times. But Jainism and Budhism in the south were more of a monastic establishment than a religion, for Brahman priests used to perform their ceremonies at that time [3].

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[1] Wilson, *Vishnu Purana*, pp. 392-416.

[2] Cf. Dalal, *History of India*, I, p. 116.

[3] Wilson, *Vishnu Purana*, p. 565.

[4] Bhandarkar, *Early History of Deccan*, pp. 4 and 5.

Coming down to the time of Aśoka, the Mauryas held sway in south India; and from this time the Dravidians felt the superiority of the Aryans. Hence the Puranic claim by all the dynasties of the south in the medieaval ages.

This leads us to investigate the origin of the Chalukyas, the Chōḷas, the Kadambas, the Gangas, the Pallavas, the Hoysaḷas and the Sēvunas, and the inter-relationship between them. All of them claim to have belonged either to the Solar or to the Lunar race, and it would be worthy to find the historic value in it, for it naturally leads to the solution of the Hoysaḷa origin.

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[1] Ibid., p. 4.

[2] Dalal, *History of India*, pp. 111-116.

[3] S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 8.

The Chalukyas reigned from A.D. 578 down to 757 after which there was a gap of about two centuries; and again they revived early in the tenth century, only to fall again in 1189 with the death of Somēśvara IV. The early Chalukyas were probably the feudatories of the Śātavāhanas after whose fall they gradually rose into power[1]. The origin of the Śātavāhanas is very obscure, they seem to have been northerners. Inscriptions reveal that from A. D. 612 they claimed to have belonged to the Mānavya Gōtra: "Who are Haritiputras (sons of Hariti) and who have been nourished by the seven mothers" [2].

In later times during the second dynasty of the Chalukyas gradually a legendary history was evolved embodying a variety of inventions which were devised to explain away the appellations, the origin of which must have been forgotten in the lapse of time. One great point of difference to be noted between the earlier and the later Chalukyas is that the latter traced their pedigree to Satyāśrāyakula, while the former claim to have been of the Mānavya Gōtra. This evidently led Mr. Bhandarkar to doubt the veracity of the claim of the later Chalukyas to have belonged to the family of the former line; and he supposes that these belonged to quite a collateral and unimportant branch. That fifty nine Chalukya kings had ruled in Ayōdhya seems to be another fabrication during the time of the latter dynasty. An inscription at Beḷagamve of A. D. 1819, perhaps the first of its kind, states this adding that subsequently in their lineage there was born Satyāśrāya [3]. Inscriptions of the time of Vikramāditya VI first traced their origin from the Moon, and hence call themselves to have belonged to the Lunar race [4]. This legendary origin of the Chalukyas seems to have been built up, or at least collected from tradition, by the poet Bilhaṇa, the author of the *Vikramānkadēvacharita*. Mr. Rice supposes that the Chalukyas assumed the title of descendents of Hariti and of the Mānavya Gōtra from the Kadambas, on their being subdued. But here he compares the name "Chalukya" to the Greek "Seleukia." "May not", he says, "the Chalukyan Kings have been of Seleukeian origin; and the prolonged struggles between them and the Pallavas, supposing these to be of Parthian connection, have been but a continuation of the contest between Seleucidæ and Arsacidæ, transferred from the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates to those of the Krishna and the Palar"[1]. This is a far-fetched derivation. However the suggestion that the Chalukyas might have come from the north is made possible from the fact that many inscriptions belonging to early Chalukyas are found in the north of the Vindhya mountains, where their kingdom must have first originated.

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[1] S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 3.
[2] *I. A.*, VI, p. 74.
[3] *I. A.*, V, p. 17.
[4] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 339.

Another dynasty which is intimately connected with the Hoysaḷas is that of the Gangas. It will be proved in the subsequent chapters that the Hoysaḷas claimed to be the political successors of the Gangas, and Mr. Rice supposes that there was inter-relationship between them. That the Gangas were originally Chēras does not seem to be true, because they professed to have subdued the Chēras. Mr. Rice, referring to the manuscript *Kongu-Dēśa-Rājakal*, states that the Gangas were preceded in the government of Kongu by the seven Kings of the Ratta line[2]. He however supposes that the Gangas were apparently purely Mysorean in origin. Their capital was Talakād, and they were great patrons of Jainism. They claim to belong to the Solar line.

Similarly in tracing the origin of the other dynasties nothing particular has been found to suspect their northern extraction; on the contrary every possible evidence available goes to prove their indigenous origin. The Chōḷas, one of the most ancient families of the south, mentioned in the *Purāṇas* together with the Chēras and the Andhras, were a Dravidian family. The Pallavas, who were anterior to the

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[1] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. LX.
[2] Ibid., p. XL.

Chōḷas, are said to have been originally the feudatories of the Śātavāhanas[1]. Mr. Rice however identifies them with the Pallavas mentioned in the *Purāṇas*, and calculates that they were probably the people who invaded India from Persia in about the second century A. D[2]. While Mr. Elliot is of opinion that the Pallavas and the Rattas were a most ancient indegenous people in the south[3].

A cursory examination of the inscriptions reveals the fact that almost all the dynasties of the south claimed Puranic descent in about the 11th century A. D. The Chalukyas renewed their Puranic geneology and claimed Lunar descent for the first time in the 11th century, as it appears from the *Vikramānkadēvacharita*[4]; while the Gaṇgas also claimed their Solar descent about the same time. The *Kongu-Dēśa-Rājakal*, a history of the Ganga Kings written probably in about the 10th century, gives the elaborate genealogy of the Gangas and tells us that they were of the Ratta type and belonged to the Solar line[5]. The Puranic genealogy of the Eastern Gangas is first presented in a record of A. D. 1118-19[6]. The Puranic genealogy of the Rāstrakūṭas makes its first appearance in the Sangli grant of A.D. 933, which allots the family to the lineage of the Yādavas[7]. Here Mr. Fleet expresses the views of Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, who considers this claim to be a late invention of about the time of this grant, and to have been made to account for the change of the emblem of the Rāshṭrakūṭa seals from the original lion to a Garuḍa, the vehicle of Vishṇu, from whom the family of the Yādavas started. The Puranic genealogy of the Chōḷas is first met with in the poem called *Kalingattu Parani* which was composed in the reign of the Eastern-Chalukya King Kulotunga Choḷa-dēva I (A. D. 1063 to 1112)[8]. The Pāṇḍyas built their pedigree much later, for an inscription of A. D. 1141 —one of the first of its kind—traces their origin to Mangaya or Ādityadēva of the Yādava branch of the Lunar race, from whom sprang Pāṇḍya[1]. The earliest mythic pedigree that has come to light is perhaps that of the Pallavas. It appears first in the seventh century A. D. commencing with god Brahma, and taken through Aṅgīrasa, Bṛahaspati, Śamyu, Bhāradvāja, Drōna, and Aśvatthāman to a certain Pallava, the mythical founder of the line[2]. While the genealogy of the Kaḷachūryas, as mentioned in the inscriptions of the 12th century, offers a very perplexing aspect. One inscription states that the first King was Kṛishṇa, born of a Brahman woman and an incarnation of a part of the god Śiva while another states that the first King was Śantasama of the Lunar line[3]. Another inscription says that in the lineage of the Kalachūryas, which was considered to be a portion of god Īśvara (Śiva), there was a King called Kannamma[4]. The pedigree of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri also pesents a doubtful origin. Mr. Fleet opines that their claim to be "Yādavas" rests on nothing but their Puranic genealogy, which appears first in a record of A. D. 1000 and must have been devised, he says, during the preceding century[5].

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[1] Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 53.

[2] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 51.

[3] Elliot, *Coins of South India*, p. 21.

[4] Bühler, *Vikramankadevacharita*, pp. २-४, vv. 31-67.

[5] Cf. *E. I.*, III, p. 170.

[6] *I. A.*, XVIII, p. 165.

[7] Ibid., XII, p. 342.

[8] *I. A.*, XIX, p. 329.

From this it seems that all the royal families of the south in the 10th and 11th centuries devised Puranic geneologies. Quite to the point Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar says that genealogy making was a pastime of the 11th century bards[6]. Mr. Fleet also is of the same opinion. He says that at about the 10th century A. D. "all the great families of Southern India were looking up their pedigrees and devising more or less fabulous geneologies"[7].

This leads us to the solution of the origin of the Hoysaḷas. Inscriptions of the time of Nṛipa Kāma and of Vinayāditya make no mention of their genealogy; whereas those of E̤reyanga make an attempt for the first time to allot Puranic descent to the Hoysaḷas. An inscription dated in A. D. 1078 states that Poysaḷa-dēva was the boon lord of Dwārwatipura [1]; while a new inscription of a still later date (1090 A.D.) adds another title, "Sun in the Yādava sky" [2]. These titles were freely used in the subsequent inscriptions; and during the time of Vishṇuvardhana they developed into Purānic details. An inscription of this King runs as follows: "From the lotus navel of the Lord of Laxmi was born Sarōjāsana (Brahma); from him the great rishi Atri; from Atri's eyes Chandra (Moon); from him Budha; from him Purūrava, Nahuśa, Āyus and Yayāti; from him Yadu; from Yadu many Yādavas were born. Victorious is Murāri (Krishṇa) able in bearing up the burden of the earth in his powerful arms; from him many illustrious kings arose.... Among such kings at a certain time arose Saḷa with rays of glory like the Moon"[3]. In another place it is said that from Saḷa the Yādava kings became Poysaḷa [4], or that the Yadu Vaṁśa was known as the Poysaḷa Vaṁśa [5]; while some other inscriptions state that after Saḷa the Yādava Vaṁśa was caused to be forgotten and was known as the Poysaḷa Vaṁśa [6].

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[1] *E. C.*, XI, Dy, 41.

[2] Cf. Gopalam, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 47.

[3] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 468.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 511.

[6] S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 91.

[7] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 342.

In these accounts it can be found that the poet has taken no pains to trace the connection of Saḷa with the Yādava kings of the north. This points to the fact that there was not even tradition to back such poetic fancies. The statement that the Yādava kings came to be known as Poysaḷa is an apology to justify the name 'Poysaḷa', which is purely local. Besides to say that the Yādavas were known as Poysāḷas is to deny that the other dynasties of the south, such as the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, were of Yadu descent. This reveals the fact that they rivalled each other in claiming such descent.

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[1] *E.C.*, XI, Tp, 105.

[2] *E.C.*, VI, Kl, 22.

[3] Ibid., Cm, 137.

[4] Ibid., Tk, 45.

[5] *E.C.*, V, Bl, 171.

[6] Ibid., Ak, 180; Hn, 56; Bl, 86.

The claim in the inscriptions that the Poysaḷas were the "Lords of the excellent city of Dwārawati" again alludes to the *Purāṇas*, where Kṛishṇa is stated to have founded the Dwāraka city in Gujrat[1]. This claim in Hoysaḷa records first appears towards the end of the 11th century, and it was at this time that the foundations of the city of Dōrasamudra were laid under the patronage of Vinayāditya and Eṟeyanga[2].

The Hoysaḷas made their appearance for the first time in the 11th century under Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa. The founder of their dynasty is said to be Saḷa and he seems to have ruled probably towards the end of the 10th century. This point will be discussed in the next chapter. The first Hoysaḷas were, as it will be proved later, natives of Aṅgaḍi on the Western Ghats. The place was then called Śāśakapura or Sosavūr where Saḷa killed the tiger at the bidding of the muni[3]. The muni exclaimed: "Poya, Saḷa", meaning: "Hit, Saḷa". From that time Saḷa and his descendents were known as Poysaḷas. Poya is a Haḷe Kannaḍa word meaning ಬಡಿ in modern Kanarese. The word Poy (ಪೊಯ್) is even now used by the illiterate people in Mysore, and especially in the Western Ghats, where the language is not as refined as in the cities. It is evident that Haḷe Kannaḍa was the language of the Hoysaḷa court, and even their fore-fathers spoke the same language; because the inscriptions say when mentioning the story of Saḷa that the muni said "Poy, Saḷa", in the language of his country, meaning the country of Śāśakapura on the Western Ghats. If the Hoysaḷas had come from the north, as the *Haḷebiḍ Kaifyyat* says, their language could not have been pure Haḷe Kannaḍa which is a Dravidian language. The

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[1] Cf. *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 294.

[2] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 96.

[3] This fact, that according to these inscriptions happened at Sasakapura, is now mentioned as having taken place at the small village of Huligere (tiger tank), not far from the modern Halebid, but most likely included within the old Dorasamudra. This shows the evolution suffered by such traditional stories when passing through the popular mind.

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fact that there is no trace of northern influence in the very early Haḷe Kannaḍa of the Hoysaḷas is clearly proved by the 11th century inscription of Aṅgaḍi[1].

Moreover a study of South Indian geography will show that Aṅgaḍi or Śāśakapura is far removed from the more important plains of Mysore. Besides it has no agricultural importance, being wrapped in the thick forests of the Western Ghats; hence it is very improbable that a Yādava king coming from the north should have established himself in this region. On the contrary it was only later, during the time of Vinayāditya when the Hoysaḷas were growing in importance, that their capital was transferred to Belur and Haḷebiḍ, which were situated in the then politically active areas. Further if Saḷa belongs to the 10th century A. D. (and there is reason to suppose so, as it will be seen later), then the 11th century genealogists, with only a century between them and their hero, would not have been at a loss to trace the connection of Saḷa with the northern Yādava kings. All these facts lead to the supposition that the Hoysaḷas were purely of an indigenous origin.

Scholars have arrived at the same logical conclusion Mr. Rice says that the Hoysaḷas were essentially Mysoreans[2] and that they were of indigenous origin from Sosavūr[3]. This claim of the Hoysaḷas in the eleventh century was in keeping with the then popular fashion. Every royal family of the time traced its origin from the *Purāṇas*; and the Hoysaḷas, who were just rising into power claimed the same descent. Their importance was marked by their relationship with other royal families of the time. A Hoysaḷa princess called Mahādēvi was espoused by Chalukya Sōmeśvara (1040-1069); while Ereyanga married the Chōḷa princess Echāḷa-dēvi[4]. Hence it was quite natural that they should claim Puranic genealogy which meant nothing more than a proof of royalty.

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[1] *E. C.*, VI, Mg, 9.

[2] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. LXXV.

[3] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 94.

[4] *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, pp. 297-298.

CHAPTER II

Sala

Nearly all the important Hoysaḷa inscriptions begin by narrating the story of Saḷa, a hill chief on the Western Ghats. He is said to be the founder of the Hoysaḷa family and his success is ascribed to his killing a tiger. Stripped of its poetic flourishes, the story runs as follows. One day he went to worship Vāsantikā, his family goddess, whose temple was in a forest near Śāśakapura. His devotions were suddenly interrupted by a fierce tiger which bounded out of the jungle and flared with rage. The yati or muni of the temple realized the danger at once; and snatching a slender rod gave it to Saḷa saying in Kannaḍa language: "Poy, Saḷa", (strike, Saḷa). The latter discharged the weapon with such a force on the beast that the latter died on the spot. From this circumstance he adopted the name Poysaḷa, formed from the yati's acclamation, "Poy, Saḷa". Later on the P was, by an ordinary phenomenon of phonetics, changed into H, and the dynasty that descended from Saḷa was called Hoysaḷa. They had the tiger as the device on their flag.

The earliest mention of this episode is found in a tamra śāsana at Belur, dated A.D. 1117 [1]. This anecdote is given in a pure and simple style, but in subsequent inscriptions the story undergoes different versions and is always distorted with supernatural touches. A śila śāsana of 1190 at Chitaldroog says: "When the tiger rushed out of the forest, the muni saying *hoyi sīli*, that moment Śala piercing it, dragged it along, and in a wonderful manner raised up the tiger on the point of his iron rod, which thence stood for his banner"[1].

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[1] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 260.

An inscription at Belur dated about A. D. 1160 gives quite a new version: "A King named Saḷa hunting along the slopes of the Sahya mountains was astonished to see a hare pursuing a tiger"[2]. Another inscription states that the tiger was none else than the goddess Vāsantikā: "A certain holy yōgīndra...was performing suitable worship to bring the goddess Vāsantikā of Śaśakapura into subjection, when in order, by any means, to break (the spell), she sprang forth in the form of a tiger"[3].

There is however another inscription which gives entirely a new construction to the story. In the Tripurāntaka temple at Beḷagaṁve there in a slab on the basement bearing a relief of the Hoysaḷa crest. From it and the inscription therein it is to be gathered that "the King when out hunting with his dogs, speared a wild boar and brought it to earth. At the same moment a lion—not a tiger, for it has a flowing mane—sprang out of the jungle to seize it, when the King attacked the lion single handed and on foot. In the small figure on horse back we see the King setting out for the chase. This with the elephant on the other side, to indicate the jungle, is only thrown in to fill up the corners of the slab. Beneath the lion is the wounded boar, with the spear or sword cut shewn on its flank, the dogs having left it to worry the lion. There is no ascetic in this group, nor is there in the groups upon the towers of the temple here and at Rattihalli"[1]. Though this version is not popular, yet it seems more rational than the other and perhaps marks the original of that poetical story.

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[1] Ibid., p. 6.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 171. This is one of the ordinary legends connected with the origin of many dynasties in South India. Cf. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, p. 9.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 71. See a similar case in Butterworth, *Inscriptions of the Nellore District*, I, pp. 114-115.

In another place "Saḷa is said to have slain the tiger with the *kuñchada Sele* (the handle of the yōgi's fan or whisk), into which he had uttered a spell *(abhimantrisi)*"[2]. Another inscription says that Saḷa pierced the tiger with the rod of the bow [3].

It can be seen that this simple anecdote of Saḷa killing the tiger gave much food for the imagination of the later Hoysaḷa court poets. The tiger is described in most grotesque manner. In a tamra śāsana dated A. D. 1262 it is written: "Enraged at seeing them, its eyes glaring forth like flames, its waving tail lashing all the points of the compass, its claws as sharp and long as razors, it (the tiger) roared upon the muni"[4]. In another place it is said: "A cry of wild beasts arose and a fearful tiger bounded forth, its claws powerful enough to tear up mountains, its long tongue swigging about with desire to swallow some one, the fiery sparks from its eyes burning up its eye-lashes" [5].

Through all this poetical frondage we may perhaps discovor the real fact, that Saḷa rose to his great power owing to the muni whom he saved from the tiger. In other words the whole existence of the Hoysaḷa dynasty depends upon one little accident which brought power and fortune to Saḷa.

Whether the story is actual or fictitious is rather difficult to say at this distance of time and with such scanty records. More important than this is the question whether Saḷa himself is a historic figure or a myth. As it has been already mentioned, the earliest record referring Saḷa's story is dated about A. D. 1117 during the time of Vishṇuvardhana [6]. The story as recorded it is simple enough and there is no reason why it should not be true. Fleet however says that it was devised in the time of Vishṇuvardhana, during whose time the family can be said to have come into prominence for the first time [1].

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[1] Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture,* p. 107.
[2] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 108.
[3] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 214.
[4] Ibid., p. 271.
[5] Ibid., p. 322.
[6] Ibid., p. 260.

The muni was a Jaina, who was living at Śāśakapura [2]. An inscription dated about A.D. 1208 tells us that the name of the muni was Sudaṭṭa [3]. That he was a Jaina can be gathered from many inscriptions [4]. This fact evidently leads to the conclusion that Saḷa was a Jaina. His favourite goddess was Padmāvatī, also named Vāsantikā or the goddess of Spring. Mr. Fleet says that when the goddess conferred her boon the season of Spring was at the height of its beauty; and hence Saḷa gave her the name Vāsantikā [5]. The goddess was worshipped under this appellation by the succeeding kings and is mentioned in several inscriptions. She is stated to be their family goddess (ಕುಲದೇವತೆ) in an inscription at Somanāthapur [6]. Hence it is to be concluded that Vāsantikā came into favour after she gave a boon to Saḷa. An inscription from Channagiri reads as follows: "When a certain King named Saḷa was with undisturbed mind worshipping the goddess Vāsantikā of Śāśakapura" [7]. It seems that Saḷa was a faithful disciple of the muni, and the latter wanted to do a great favour to him by giving his land to him. The inscription at Sorab above mentioned states: "The master of that country and of many other countries surrounded by the ocean, when desiring to give this chief place in the world to Saḷa of the Yadu-kula, Sudaṭṭa-munipa made Padmāvatī appear. On her coming as a tiger, seeing and recognising her, he said "Poy, Saḷa", whereupon he smote it with the munipa's rod *(sili)* and displaying his courage to the goddess, that king acquired the name *Poysala*"[1]. All this passage evidently means that the muni brought the goddess Padmāvatī into his power and obtained from her a kingdom for Saḷa.

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[1] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 490.

[2] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 48.

[3] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 28.

[4] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 214; *E.C.*, VII, Ch, 64.

[5] Fleet, *Kanarese Dinasties*, p. 490.

[6] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 324.

[7] *E.C.*, VII, Ci, 72.

In another inscription it is clearly said: "He along-with the muni was, with devotion worshipping the celebrated Vāsantikā of Śāśakapura free from fear, in order to obtain all royal power"[2].

It follows therefore from the story that Saḷa owed his power to the boon granted by goddess Vāsantikā through the favour of the holy muni. A parallel incident can be cited from the Vijayanagara tradition, which says that the Empire was founded by the guru Mādhava or Vidyāraṇya[3].

There is a similar story in Tamil literature. Discussing the authorship of the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, which is said to have been written in about the 2nd century A. D., Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar mentions a poet named Kapilar who is said to have been under the patronage of a chieftain named Vēḷ Pāri, whose *demesne* Paṟambu-nāḍu comprised 300 villages and who was master of Paṟambu hill. The poet states that in trying to find suitors to his master's daughters he approached one Pulikaḍimāl Iruṅgōvēḷ of Malai-nāḍu, who is said to have been born in the 49th generation from the ruler of Tuvarai. The title Pulikaḍimāl of Iruṅgōvēḷ means "tiger killer", for he is said to have killed a tiger at the instance of an ascetic. This story evidently resembles the one ascribed to Saḷa. Also Iruṅgōvēḷ is said to have been the lord of Malai-nāḍu, which can be identified with the jungle border of Mysore on the Western Ghats, which is so often mentioned in Hoysaḷa inscriptions[4].

Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar suggests that Saḷa could be identified with Iruṅgōvēḷ[5]. This theory seems to be plausible, because the above statements lead one to this logical inference. Iruṅgōvēḷ is said to be the descendant of the ruler of Tuvarai, which may be identified with Dwāraka, the original place of the Yādavas. Again the story of the tiger is identically the same, and also Iruṅgōvēḷ is said to have been the lord of Malai-nāḍu.

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[1] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 28.

[2] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 25.

[3] This tradition has been recently exploded by my *guru*, Rev. Fr. H. Heras. Cf. Heras, o. c., pp. 11-35.

[4] *I. A.*, XXXVII, p. 230.

[5] *E. I.*, XII, p. 122, note 6.

Incidentally it may be remarked that King Eṟeyanga married Mahādēvi, the daughter of a certain Irukkāvēḷ, who was under the Chōḷa Emperors. This Irukkāvēḷ was the descendant of Iruṅgōvēḷ who killed the tiger [1].

Stories like that of Saḷa could easily be constructed and believed during those superstitious days, but to us they have no historic value. It is too sweeping an assertion to say that a humble beggar muni could dispose of a kingdom.

In all the inscriptions quoted above the object of the story seems to be to explain the origin of the word "Hoysaḷa", which means "Strike, Saḷa", the two words addressed by the muni to Saḷa at the appearance of the tiger. Hence the tiger became the Hoysaḷa crest. "From Saḷa", we read in an inscription, "the sardula (tiger) became their sign or crest" [2]. From the saying: "Hoy, Saḷa" all the descendents of Saḷa became Hoysaḷas, "just as from Yadu they were formerly called Yādavas" [3]. "From that time onwards the Yādavas were called Hoysaḷas"[4], "and the name 'Yādava' was caused to be forgotten" [5]. The emblem of the tiger was engraved on the walls of the temples, on coins, and on the seals of copper-plates. It was the emblem of the Hoysaḷas, as Garuḍa was the emblem of the Yādavas and the lion that of the Chōḷas. Saḷa raised up the tiger on the point of his rod "which thence stood for his banner", reads another inscription [6]. The crest seems to have been a favourite design of the sculptors as the story was favourite among the poets. There is a representation of the Hoysaḷa crest on the top of the Kēdarēśvara temple at Beḷagaṁve, which is a very rich piece of sculpture. Another is found in the Kadambēśvara temple, but the hero is represented as an armed warrior with sword and shield. One may point out that the crest was given a very prominent position in temples, since it was the emblem of the ruling dynasty.

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[1] *Q. J. M. S.*, II, p. 115.
[2] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 214.
[3] Ibid., p. 270.
[4] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 65; Bl, 171.
[5] *E. I.*, VI, p. 90.
[6] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 6.

It remains now to be seen whether Saḷa is a historic figure or whether he is only a myth invented to give an imposing touch to the Hoysaḷa pedigree. So far as can be gathered from the Hoysaḷa records Saḷa is given a very dim though poetic appearance like an epic hero, and this led some writers to think that he is not a historic figure. Dr. Fleet writes to this effect: "He (Saḷa) is doubtless nothing but an eponymous hero, whose existence was invented when the pedigree was being manufactured, simply to explain a somewhat peculiar name" [1]. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar is also of the same opinion [2]. Fleet's reason for this conclusion is that "no attempt is made to give the lineal descent from Saḷa to the historical members of the family" [3]. But this does not seem to be a conclusive reason. The inscriptions while mentioning Saḷa as the ancestor of the Hoysaḷas, no doubt give a very vague genealogical table. For example an inscription at Haḷebiḍ states, after narrating the story of Saḷa: "In that line, like the Moon among the stars, or as the loftiest peak in a chain of mountains, so arose Vinayāditya" [4]. In another place it is stated that "To the sky of the kings of that Hoysaḷa race was Vinayāditya the sun [5]. These inscriptions evidently mean that Vinayāditya was the descendant of Saḷa. But in an inscription in the Tiptur Taluqua we read that "his (Saḷa's) son was Vinayāditya" [6]; and another inscription goes further to mention the name of Vinayāditya's mother: "Having a swinging tiger for his ensign, to that King Saḷa and to Bhūmi

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[1] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 491
[2] S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 228.
[3] Fleet, l.c.
[4] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 214.
[5] Ibid., p. 31.
[6] *E.C.*, XII, Tp, 40.

Dēvi was born Vinayāditya" [1]. From these authorities we may infer that though the inscriptions do not agree as regards the relationship between Saḷa and Vinayāditya, yet they all agree in stating that Saḷa was the forefather of the Hoysaḷas. From that disagreement we may possibly infer that the date of Saḷa is to be put earlier than what is ordinarily supposed. Yet at the present state of research we have no sufficient authority to repudiate the theory that Saḷa was the real ancestor of the Hoysaḷas.

So far there is no inscription that gives a date for Saḷa. There is however an inscription of A. D. 1006 at Kaliyūr which mentions the name 'Hoysaḷa'; but there are no references from which one could identify the king referred to in the inscription [2]. The *Sthala Purāṇa* of Śrāvaṇa Beḷgōḷa states: "From the Śaka year 777, Bhava, this country fell into the hands of the Hayasāla Belāla kings" [3]. Therefore the manuscripts as well as the inscriptions suggest no definite date for Saḷa. Mr. Rice however arrives at the conclusion that Saḷa's reign covered the period 984-1043 A. D. [4] The traditional account of the Hoysaḷas given in the *Haḷebiḍ Kaifyyat* is that Saḷa came from the north in Śaka 995, Sobbakritu, and settled at Śāśakapura [5]. Mr. Srikantaiya has arrived at the same conclusion of Mr. Rice after the study of the *Channabāsava Kalajñana*, which says that Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa Rāya ruled from A. D. 984 down to 1043 [6]. A list of Humcha gurus obtained from the *maṭha* gives the ninth guru as "Vardhamana munindra, by the power of whose *manthra* Hoysaḷa subdued the tiger"; and gives the date of the guru as between 980 and 1040 [7]. From the above authorities we can put his date as somewhere towards the end of the 10th century.

Keeping this date in view we shall now examine the inscriptions in order to identify Saḷa.

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[1] Ibid., Tp, 42.

[2] *E. C.*, III, Tn, 44.

[3] *I. A.*, II, p. 131.

[4] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. LXXV.

[5] Cf. *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 294.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, I, p. 373.

We have just now seen that Saḷa was known in some inscriptions as the father of Vinayāditya and that his Queen was Bhūmi Dēvi. Now in many inscriptions Vinayāditya is given as the son of Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa. The date of the latter as given by Mr. Rice is between 1022 and 1027 and he suggests that he might be the son of Saḷa[1]. Two inscriptions can be cited here which mention Vinayāditya as the son of Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa[2]. They are dated A. D. 1154 and A. D. 1159. But there is one peculiarity in the inscriptions which include Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa's name in the Hoysaḷa genealogy. Every one of them begins the genealogy from Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa and not from Saḷa. The one which I have just cited begins:—"Entitled to the five big drums, sun in the sky of the Yādava kula...mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa. His son was Vinayāditya, etc." An inscription in Mudgere Taluqua dated about A. D. 1025, in the 7th year of the reign of Kāma Hoysaḷa, makes absolutely no mention of his pedigree[3].

Now reviewing the last four paragraphs concerning the date and identity of Saḷa, we realize: (1) that Saḷa ruled from A. D. 984 to A. D. 1043; (2) that Vinayāditya is mentioned as the son of Saḷa and Bhūmi Dēvi; (3) that Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa's reign covers the period from 1022 to 1027; (4) that Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa seems to be the father of Vinayāditya. These four points lead one to conclude that Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa and Saḷa are one and the same person. Mr. Srikantaiya when discussing the date of Saḷa says that the period A. D. 984 to 1043, ascribed to Saḷa in the *Haḷebiḍ Kaifyyat*, cannot be reconciled with the date of Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa, whose earliest inscription belongs to A. D. 1022[4]. This difficulty is solved if Saḷa is identified with Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa. Mr. Rice however says that Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa could not be Saḷa himself, for "this would have leaked out in some of the numberless inscriptions which contain the pedigree"[5]. In point of fact this actually seems to have leaked out in the inscriptions that mention Saḷa as the father of Vinayāditya; and this was the main reason for our identifying the former with Nṛipa Kāma.

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[1] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 97.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 157, 141.

[3] *E. C.*, VI, Mg, 19.

[4] *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 295.

[5] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 97.

Ṣaḷa's rising to power is, as stated before, due to the boon granted to him by the muni for killing the tiger. A narrative given in one of Mackenzie's manuscripts speaks of the successes of Saḷa at Śāśakapura[1]. The narrative as given by Mr. Rice runs as follows: "The tiger had committed such ravages in the neighbourhood that the people were afraid to assemble for the annual festival of Vāsantikā. Being now freed from the scourge by the valour of Saḷa, they gladly agreed at the instance of the yāti, to pay a contribution to their deliverer of one fanam (4 as. 8 p.) a year for each family. This seemed so trifling a reward for the important services rendered, that the second year it was doubled, the third year trebled and so on for five years. Hoysaḷa had faithfully placed what he received each year at the yāti's feet, and in the second year had been ordered to use the money in raising a small force. This having been increased by the end of the fifth year to a respectful number Hoysaḷa was directed to rebuild the ruined city of Dwārapuri and informed that he would discover a large treasure for the purpose among the ruins, to be applied to fortifying it"[2].

Here we see that Saḷa's rise into power was not due to any supernatural aid. The humble muni had no kingdoms to bestow on his favourite; but he used his influence with the neighbouring people in favour of the valiant Saḷa.

The traditional account given in the *Haḷebiḍ Kāifyyat* is that Saḷa came from the north in Śaka 995 and settled at Śāśakapura, as has already been mentioned. This Śāśakapura is stated to be two miles from the ruins of an ancient capital of the Yādavas. If this Yādava capital is to be identified with Dwārasamudra or Dōrasamudra, it cannot be only two miles from Śāśakapura (Aṅgaḍi) which is in Mudgere Taluqua. But both manuscripts of this work make mention of a ruined city. We know from inscriptions that Dōrasamudra was being adorned with splendid buildings by Vinayāditya[1]. May be that the work started by Saḷa was carried on by Vinayāditya.

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[1] Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 64.

[2] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 213.

Though Saḷa is styled as a King in the inscriptions, he must have started life as a petty chief. According to Lieut. Col. Mackenzie he was probably a Zemindar in the Carnatic (Karṇāṭaka) under the Chōḷas.[2] That the very early Hoysaḷas had political connections with the Chōḷas is quite evident; for an inscription of A.D. 1006 mentions a Hoysaḷa king, as having been put to flight by Apramēya, a general of the Chōḷas[3]. Some later inscriptions say that Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa was at war with Rājēndra Chōḷa Kongāḷva in 1022[4]; while another inscription in the Arkalgūd Taluqua dated A.D. 1026 says that Rājēndra Chōḷa Kongāḷva was marching on the "base Poysāḷa"[5]. The earliest inscription however that makes mention of Poysaḷa is dated in about A. D. 950: it was copied at Hosahaḷḷi, near Marale, in the Chikkamagalur Taluqua. It relates to the Noḷamba King Anniga, against whom Poysaḷamāruga, a grandson of Samanta Arakilla, fought and was killed. He was probably a feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭas[6]. Could it be that Saḷa was a feudatory of these kings?

Saḷa must have conquered a small territory for himself round about Śāśakapura on the Western Ghats, in the Mudgere Taluqua. Mr. Rice says that his kingdom must have extended on the south of the Baba Budan mountains, in the Kadūr District[7].

The predominence of the Hoysaḷas on the Western Ghats is indicated in their title *Malaparoḷ ganda*, or hill chiefs. The later Hoysaḷa kings used this title in their signature[8].

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[1] *E. C.*, II, SB, 143 (53).

[2] Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 64.

[3] *E. C.*, III, TN, 44.

[4] *E. C.*, V, Mj, 43.

[5] *E. C.*, V, Ag, 76.

[6] *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 46.

[7] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. LXXV.

[8] *E. C.*, III, Md, 79; TN, 100.

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Somēśvara even signed the Tamil inscriptions as "Maleparoḷ Ganda" in bold Kanarese letters.

The capital of Saḷa is pronounced in several ways. Most commonly it was known as Śāśakapura or Śāśakapurī. Some times it was known as Sōsulya[1]. At the time of Vinayāditya it was generally called Śaśapura[2]. In later inscriptions, even down to the time of the Vijayanagara Emperors, it was known as Sosavūr.

We have previously mentioned an interesting story of a Belur inscription which gives the origin of the name Śāśakapura. A hare was once pursuing a tiger. The tiger was however killed by Saḷa. From the fact that a hare pursued a tiger the place was called Śāśakapura, or the town of the hare [3].

The exact location of Śāśakapura is a much discussed subject. Mr. Rice maintains that it is the present Aṅgaḍi in the Mudgere Taluqua. He says that the temple of Vāsantikā Dēvi, at which the incident of the tiger took place, is still represented by the present Vāsantamma temple which enjoys a great local reputation [4]. At Aṅgaḍi there are many other temples containing some beautiful carvings, which attest the former importance of the place.

Mr. Rice gives the following description of the architectural remains at Aṅgaḍi: "The ruined temples at Sosevūr or Angaḍi must also have been fine buildings. There is a well executed image of Kēśava still standing in one of the Hindu temples, and there are large figures of the Sapta Mātrikā at the Vasantamma temple. But the finest and oldest sculpture is in the Jain bastis, probably of the 11th century. In addition to the massive seated images of Jina, in one of the bastis is a striking female figure representing a yakshini. Above her head is a beautiful leafy canopy and studded over the whole are minutely sculptured arboreal animals, such as birds, squirrels, tree-frogs, lizards, etc." [1]

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[1] Rice, *Mysore Inscription*, p. 329.

[2] Ibid., p. 260.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 171.

[4] *E. C.*, VI, Introd., p. 14. Sosavur is situated where the road over the Ghats from Mangalore meets two others leading to Saklashpur and Belur.

The location of Sosavūr on the Western Ghats can be infered from the inscriptions. For example, an inscription in the Mudgere Taluqua dated 1359, of the time of Bukka Rāya I of Vijayanagara, gives Sosavūr as "situated in the Kalinaḍiyama-nāḍ Four-thousand, which is reckoned the Kākarenāḍ of the Pariya-ghaṭṭa (Western Ghats)" [2]. This seems to be the same location of the modern Aṅgaḍi.

Many inscriptions of the time of Nṛipa Kāma and Vinayāditya are found at Aṅgaḍi; and there is no reason to believe that the stones on which the inscriptions were found had been brought from some other place. Almost all these inscriptions (ten in number)[3] are dated in the early decades of the eleventh century and they mention grants to Sosavūr. One inscription of 1054 states that a woman gave a grant to a basadi at Sosavūr, and the inscription was found in a basadi at Aṅgaḍi [4].

The present name Aṅgaḍi for Sosavūr was, according to Rice, given in the time of the Vijayanagara Kings, "perhaps from political motives. Thus in 1359, under Bukka Rāya, the place is called Sosavūr (see Mg, 25), but in 1539 under Achyuta Rāya it is called Angaḍi (inscription in the Belur Taluq)" [5]. Aṅgaḍi is a common part of several names in South Kanara such as Uppinaṅgaḍi, Belltaṅgaḍi, Hosaṅgaḍi and others.

Dr. Lüders says that Mr. Rice's identification of Śāśakapura with the modern Aṅgaḍi is not well founded [6]. It seems nevertheless that Mr Rice's identification is correct; for the inscriptions say that Śāśakapura was situated on the Western Ghats. Now at present there is no place on the Western Ghats which reveals its past glory so much as the town of Aṅgaḍi.

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[1] Ibid., Introd., p. 28.

[2] Ibid., Mg, 25.

[3] Ibid., from Mg 9 to Mg 18.

[4] *E. C.*, VI, Mg, 9.

[5] Ibid., Introd., p. 14.

[6] *E. I.*, VI, p. 90.

CHAPTER III

Nripa Kama Hoysala, A. D. 1022-1027

Contemporaries

Chalukya King:-
  Jayasiṁha Jagadēkamalla, A. D. 1018-1042.
Chōḷa Kings:-
  Rājarāja I, A. D. 985-1013.
  Rājēndra Chōḷa I, A. D. 1013-1045.
Pāṇḍya King:-
  Amarabhujunga.

A very early mention of the Hoysaḷas, as has already been noted, is found in an inscription at Kaliyūr in the Tirumakūḍal-Narsipur Taluqua of the Mysore District, dated in the month Chaitra (March-April) falling in A. D. 1006. The record appears to mention a certain Apramēya, "Lord of the Kottamaṇḍala", an officer of the Chōḷa King Rājarāja-dēva, and tells us that he defeated a Hoysaḷa minister named Nāgaṇṇa, and pursued or repulsed the Hoysaḷas in war[1]. This inscription evidently indicates that the Hoysaḷas had made their influence felt far from their cradle at Sosavūr. We are also enlightened on the point that the earliest powerful foes of the Hoysaḷas were the Chōḷas. Yet it is not known who was the representative of the Hoysaḷa family at this early date.

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[1] *E. C.*, III, TN, 44.

The first historical person in the family whose identity is undisputed is Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa. Inscriptions ascribed to his period range from A. D. 1022 to A. D. 1027. Whether the Hoysaḷa of A. D. 1006 is the same Nṛipa Kāma, or another chief, it is not possible to say.

The earliest inscription of Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa, dated A. D. 1022, is at Rājēndrapura on a stone near a tank; this record runs thus: "When Rājēndra Chōḷa Prithuvi Mahārāja having (made war) on Nṛipa Kāma Poysaḷa, Poysaḷa encountered Kaṇṇamma, on which, bumping the horse of Kaṇṇamma, who was under the Mahārāja's orders and piercing him, the general Jōgayya went to *swargga*"[1]. It apparently means that the Poysaḷa chief was in a critical position when his general Jōgayya rescued him at the expense of his own life. This inscription proves that the conflict between the Hoysaḷas and the Chōḷas, which must have begun at least in A. D. 1006 during the time of Rājarāja I, continued even in 1022 during the time of Rājēndra Chōḷa I.

The Chōḷas had at this time risen to power. They had carried their arms up to Kaḷinga on the eastern coast and made Vengi an appendage of the Chōḷa Empire. Subsequently the wave of conquest was directed towards the west. In A. D. 1004 Rājēndra Chōḷa captured the Ganga capital, Talakāḍ[2]. The cause of this invasion of the Ganga and Ratta territory was apparently the murder of Rājāditya Chōḷa by one of the Gangas[3]. About this time the Hoysaḷas were gradually growing powerful among the potentates ruling the mountainous districts (Mal-nāḍ) and they were a source of trouble to the feudatories of the Chōḷas[4].

In A. D. 1026 we find the Kongāḷva King attacking Nṛipa Kāma and defeating him in a battle at Maṇṇi[5], which is supposed to be situated in the Nelamaṅgala Taluqua[6]. In this inscription Nṛipa Kāma is styled as the base Poysaḷa (ಮುಂಡಪೊಯ್ಸಳ) may be from the fact that he was a constant source of trouble, as evidenced from the fact that the Hoysaḷas stood battles with them many times between A. D. 1006 and 1025.

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Mj, 43.
[2] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 85.
[3] Cf. *I. A.*, II, p. 113.
[4] *E. C.*, V, Introd., p. 4.
[5] *E. C.*, V, Ag, 76.
[6] *J. I. H.*, II, p. 321.

In 1027 Nṛipa Kāma had sent a force to rescue Banavasi from an attack [1]. Banavasi was under the Kadambas at this period. The great rising powers at this time, namely the Chōḷas, Kadambas and Chalukyas, must have been struggling with one another to grab at the fertile countries of the south. Since Nṛipa Kāma was evidently at war with the Chōḷas he must have allied himself with the Kadambas of Banavasi. We are not aware of any political relationship between the Hoysāḷas and the Chalukyas at this time, though the inscriptions of Vinayāditya and Eṛeyanga show that the Hoysaḷas were their feudatories.

It is interesting to note that Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa had another name, *viz.* Rāchamalla Permmāḍi [2], evidently a Ganga name. Mr. Rice supposes that he might have adopted that name owing to intermarriage with the Ganga family [3]. But Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar disagreeing with him suggests whether it could not be that he was "a Ganga feudatory and bore his "overlord's title just as the Kongāḷvas about the same region gave themselves the Chola titles of their overlords [4]. There are many inscriptions which throw light on the close relationship between the Hoysaḷas and the Gangas at this time. An inscription refers to a Ganga King called Ganga Permmānaḍi as ruling Karṇāṭaka in A. D. 996 [5]. According to Mr. Rice this may be the Ganga King under whom Talakāḍ was lost to the Chōḷas [6]. It is moreover well known how Ganga Rāja, general of Vishṇuvardhana, recovered Talakāḍ from the Chōḷas in A .D. 1116. An inscription at Śrāvaṇa Beḷgōḷa describes Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa as the patron of Echam or Echiga, the father of Ganga Rāja, Vishṇuvardhana's general[1].

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Mj, 44.

[2] *E. C.*, VI, Mg, 19.

[3] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 98.

[4] Thus Prithvi Kongalva is sometimes called Rajendra Chola Prithvi Kongalva. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 230.

[5] *E. C.*, III, Md, 78.

[6] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 48.

During this period the Gangas were in decadance. They could not withstand the aggressive Chōḷas, who had already defeated the Pallavas and the Eastern Chalukyas. The Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Gangas were the allies of the Eastern Chalukyas and evidently they did not escape the wrath of the Chōḷas. The capture of Talakāḍ in A. D. 1004 brought about the final downfall of the Gangas.

It was at this time that the Hoysaḷas had joined the Kadambas of Banavasi and were constantly harassing the Chōḷas. The Holysaḷas had considered themselves the political successors of the Gangas, perhaps on account of blood relationship, as suggested by Mr. Rice[2]. The capture of Talakāḍ by the Chōḷas had only made the Hoysaḷas of Nṛipa Kāma's time more resolute though less hopeful; hence their persistent attacks on the mighty enemy. This rivalry between the two powers continued for a long time until Ganga Rāja regained his ancestor's lost capital Talakāḍ. But it was only during Narasiṁha II that the Hoysaḷas gave a final blow to the Chōḷas[3].

The Mysore Archaeological Department has brought forward an important manuscript from the Library of the Śrāvaṇa Beḷgōḷa *maṭha* entitled *Bāhubalicharitrasātaka*, or a century of Sanskrit stanzas on the greatness of Bāhubali or Gomatha, attributed to Nēmichandra. From this it appears that while "Viṇayāditya of the Hoysaḷa dynasty was ruling in Haḷebiḍ, Rāchamalla of the Gangas with his minister Chḷāmuṇḍa Rāya was ruling in Madhura. Rāchamalla seems to have been a feudal sovereign of Vinayāditya Hoysaḷa, inasmuch as Chāmuṇḍa Rāya is stated to have come over to Śrāvana Beḷgōḷa all the way from Madura and have given land endowments for conducting worship of Gomathēśvara set up by him in Śrāvana Beḷgōḷa"[1]. The date for Vinayāditya is not far from Nṛipa Kāma's and it is reasonable to suppose that the intimate political relationship between the Hoysaḷas and the Gangas must have begun during Nṛipa Kāma's reign. The Gangas must have retreated to the East after they lost Talakāḍ and must have exercised their authority in the Kolar District, though they had lost their regal power. It was at this time that they became the trusted officers of the Hoysāḷas [2].

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[1] *E. C.*, II, SB., 118 (44).

[2] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 97.

[3] Cf. *A. S. J. R.*, 1909-10, pp. 151-153.

None of Nṛipa Kamā's inscriptions extend beyond A. D. 1027, and it is not till A. D. 1047 that Vinayāditya makes his appearance in Hoysaḷa History. Thus there is a blank of twenty years between the end of Nṛipa Kāma's reign and the beginning of Vinayāditya's. The only conjecture that could be made, on the supposition that the two Kings were father and son and that one succeeded the other, is that Nṛipa Kāma died long after A. D. 1027, or that Vinayāditya began his rule before A. D. 1047.

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1923, p. 127.

[2] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 48.

CHAPTER IV

Vinayaditya, A.D. 1047-1100

Contemporaries

Chalukya Kings:-
  Somēśvara II, 1068-1076.
  Vikramāditya Permmāḍi, 1076-1126.
Chōḷa Kings:-
  Vīrarājēndra Chōḷa I, 1063.
  Rājēndra Chōḷa II, 1070.

The first notable Hoysaḷa King that established a substantial power in Mysore was Vinayāditya. He ruled probably from A.D. 1047 to 1100. Inscriptions of the later period place him on the top of the Hoysaḷa genealogy and call him the descendent of Saḷa after several generations [1]. But a few inscriptions state that he was the son of Saḷa himself by his Queen Bhūmi Dēvi [2]; while some other inscriptions say that Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa was his father [3], though his mother's name is not given in this case. In the light of this evidence the parentage of Vinayāditya is doubtful; but one is led to believe that he was the son of Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa, for the latter, as we know, is a historical figure whose inscriptions date about A.D. 1026. This short difference of dates between

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1926, p. 50; *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 32.

[2] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 40, 42.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 141,157; *E. C.*, II, SB, 118 (44).

Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa and Vinayāditya makes the theory that they were father and son probable. Mr. Rice has not made any remarks to the contrary [1].

A new inscription of the time of Vinayāditya has the date A.D. 1012. It was already published in *Epigraphia Carnatica*[2], but a revised version of the same is given in the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1916 [3]. The latest date for Vinayāditya being A. D. 1100 it follows that he ruled for 88 years which seems very improbable. This has led Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar to alter the genealogy of the Hoysaḷas. Since this is a very important point it will be useful to quote first the inscription as given is *Epigraphia Carnatica* and then as published in the *Mysore Archaeological Report*, as well as the arguments of Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar.

1. In A.D. 1012 "in the kingdom of Biṭṭimayya's grandfather Vinayāditya Hoysaḷa-dēva, certain Gauḍas (named) transferred a field with bamboos on it".

2. In Vikramagala 1060, "corresponding to the cyclic year Parīdhāvi,...... during the rule of Tribhuvanamalla Vinayāditya Hoysaḷa-dēva, on Bhūva gavuṇḍa of Indayura killing Bāsagavuṇḍa-Biṭṭigavuṇḍa's son Biṭṭiyaṇṇa in connection with a field, Bāsagavuṇḍa killed Būve-Gauṇḍa".

Generally Hoysaḷa inscriptions are not dated in Vikrama era. The year 1090 of Vikrama does not correspond to Paridhavi but to Subhakrit; but Mr. Narasimhachar has taken the cyclic year Parīdhāvi to be correct and hence he arrives at the date A. D. 1012 He then states that Vinayāditya used the cognomen Tribhuvanamalla after the Chalukya King Vikramāditya V (A. D. 1009-1018) till 1063 [4]. Then the prefix Trailōkyamalla is used in honour of Somēśvara I (1042-1068)[5]. Vinayāditya next reverts to the former prefix Tribhuvanamalla which is now the cognomen of Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126)[6].

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[1] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 97.

[2] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 38.

[3] *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 50.

[4] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 73. (A. D. 1044)

[5] Ibid., Cm, 15. (A. D. 1074); Ibid., Kd, 161. (A. D. 1063)

[6] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 194. (A. D. 1083)

Finally the Rao Bahadur continues to say: "In some records his name Vinayāditya is used, in others the term Hoysaḷadēva, and in others both, with or without the prefix in all the three cases. Now the question naturally occurs whether Vinayāditya could have ruled for a period of 88 years from 1012 to 1100. To add to the mystery one Kāma Hoysaḷa, who is mentioned as the father of Vinayāditya [1], is stated to have been the ruler in 1022, 1026 and 1027... If we ignore the present epigraph of 1012, the earliest known record of Vinayāditya is dated in 1047 or 1048. And as there is no reason whatever to doubt the genuineness of the present record, we are led to the conclusion that this is an inscription of a Vinayāditya who was the father of Kāma Hoysaḷa, the latter's son Vinayāditya II (being) son named after his grandfather. ...From the information now available we may suppose that Vinayāditya I ruled till 1022, Kāma Hoysaḷa till 1047 and Vinayāditya II till 1100".

Mr. Srikantaiya has taken up this theory, and has ascribed the epigraph of A.D. 1006, which mentions a Hoysaḷa king as having been put to flight by Apramēya, a general of the Chōḷa King Rājarāja [2], to Vinayāditya I [3].

The discrepancies between the cyclic and the Śaka years are not uncommon in ancient records, and it may be supposed that one of the chief reasons for such a mistake is that such inscriptions are fraudulent, having been composed in later ages to serve some private purpose. The composers were not expert in astronomical calculations and hence the clash between the cyclic year and the Śaka era. The genuineness of the epigraph in reference can be doubted from the context itself, since according to Mr. Rice's translation Vinayāditya is stated to be the grand-father of Biṭṭimaya (Vishṇuvardhana). That the name of a person who is not yet born should be mentioned is a strong evidence to show that the text is not trustworthy. Mr. Rice has however made a mistake in the translation. The original text in Haḷe Kannaḍa says that

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[1] Ibid., Ak, 141; VIII, p. 62.

[2] *E. C.*, III, TN, 44.

[3] *Q. J. M. S.*, VIII, p. 62.

Vinayāditya was the *māva* of Biṭṭimaya; but *māva* means father-in-law and not grand-father. Yet this word may be a mistake in the original, for there was no notable person of the name Biṭṭimaya before Vishṇuvardhana and it is difficult to guess whom the text is referring to.

An inscription at the village of Macheri on a stone set up in the Kallēśvara temple, which has been recently published, gives Vishṇuvardhana as the great grand-son of Vinayāditya. The inscription runs thus: "The illustrious mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla Vinayāditya (with titles) ruled over the Gangavāḍi Ninety-six Thousand kingdom as the sole lord of the country. His grand-son (*atana momma*) Tribhuvanamalla Hoysaḷa reigned over the whole territory bounded by Konkaṇa, etc. His son Tribhuvanamalla Vishṇuvardhana Hoysaḷa, conqueror of Talakāḍ, etc."[1]

This is a very rare inscription as it contradicts the popular Hoysaḷa genealogy. Yet it does not confirm Rao Bahadur Narsimhachar's theory, since according to him Vishṇuvardhana should be the great great grand-son of Vinayāditya I and not the great grand-son as is stated here. Tribhuvanamall Hoysaḷa grand-son of Vinayāditya, as is stated in the epigraph, cannot be identified. Such designation is common to Vinayāditya in the grants[2]; but no grand-son of his goes by that name unless it is Vishṇuvardhana himself. Such a mistake may be ascribed to the writer.

This scanty evidence is not sufficient even to put forth a theory as Rao Bahadur Narsimhachar has done. We should only wait for future discoveries to enlighten us on the subject.

Vinayāditya or Binayāditya was sometimes called Binayayta[3] and sometimes as Vinayayta[4]. His titles commonly run thus: "The illustrious mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla Vinayāditya, possessed of numerous titles including the obtainer of the musical band of five great instruments, mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, lord of the excellent city of Dwāravati, a son to the firmament the Yādava family, crest-jewel of rectitude, lord of Malepas, ruled over the Gangavāḍi Ninety-six Thousand kingdom, as the sole lord of the country"[1].

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1925, p. 39-40.
[2] *E. C.*, V, Kd, 161.
[3] Ibid., Ak, 179.
[4] Ibid., Ak, 162 a.

The title 'Obtainer of the musical band of five great instruments' is very obscure, though it is important in so far as it was possessed by all the Hoysaḷa kings, as well as other kings and chiefs of that time. In the original Haḷe Kannaḍa language it runs: '*Samadhigata pancha mahāśabda*', but no where is it correctly translated since the significance of the term is lost. *Pancha mahāśabda* means five great words. Mr. Rice always translates it as 'Entitled to the band of five chief instruments'; while Dr. Fleet explains it as band played five times[2], and Mr. S. P. Pandit maintains that it refers to five words of titles beginning with '*Maha*' such as mahārāja, mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, etc. [3]. Sir Walter Elliot explains it as if it were a title conjoined with mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and hence not usually assumed by a sovereign prince. But owing to the obscurity of the term he would retain it in its original form 'Lord of the Panchamahāśabda'. He then quotes a passage from Ferishta: "The *naubat* or band of music played five times daily at stated hours", and supposes that it is identical with the title in reference [4]. Mr. F.S. Grouse is of the same opinion, and says that the title denotes that the king had a brilliant and auspicious court in which all kinds of music were constantly being played. These five kinds of musical instruments were the tantri or sitāra, the tāl, the jhānjh, the nakāra and the trumpet or fife.

Being a tributary of the Chalukyas Vinayāditya used the cognomen Trailōkyamalla[6] after Emperor Somēśvara (1042-1068) and Tribhuvanamalla[7] after Emperor Vikramāditya VI

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1925, p. 39.
[2] *I. A.*, IV, pp. 180-204.
[3] Ibid., I, p. 81.
[4] Ibid., V, p. 251.
[5] Ibid., p. 355.
[6] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 15.
[7] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 194.

(1076-1126). He also possessed the title "Rakkasa Poysala". An inscription mentions his having the six letters ರಕ್ಕಸ ಪೊಯ್ಸಳ (Ra-kka-sa-Poy-saḷa) on his flag[1]. Mr. Rice supposes that it is a possible reference to his connection with the Ganga king Rakkasa[2]. Mr. Srikantaiya however disagrees with him. He argues thus: "He (Vinayāditya) was a terror to his neighbours and was looked upon as a giant crushing every one who ventured to withstand his aggressions. This is probably the explanation of the name Rakkasa Poysaḷa on his banner after 1062. Mr. Rice however suggests that may refer to a connection with the Ganga King Rakkasa, but with great respect, it has to be pointed out that the appearance of this name on the King's banner after he began to govern Gangavāḍi can only be explained in the way I have suggested"[3].

Vinayāditya ascended the throne, when Southern India was in a state of transition. Sōmēśvara I was ruling in the Chalukya territory in the height of his glory. Yet his position was not secure before the aggressive Chōḷas. The great battle at Koppam between the Chōḷas and the Chalukyas did not settle the matter, each party claiming the victory for itself[4]. The Chalukyas continued to appoint governors of Gangavāḍi, although the Chōḷas claimed the ownership of it[5]. Vinayāditya as one of the mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras of Sōmēśvara ruled probably half of the Gangavāḍi, while the other half was under the Chōḷas[6]. It was at this time that Vinayāditya was associated with the politics of Gangavāḍi.

The earliest activities of Vinayāditya were not in the thick of Chalukya and Chōḷa wars, but far away on the Western Ghats. An inscription at Belūr says that "the Koṅkaṇigas, saying: His sword will destroy us all, scattered in every direction, when Vinayāditya set forth for war. The sons of the hill kings rubbing their heads, rose up, came and placed their heads at his lotus feet''[1]. In another record he is said to be the terror of the Malapas[2]. The hill chiefs mentioned here may be the Changālvas and Kongālvas who were under the Chōḷa supremacy. The Hoysaḷas must have been at war with the Kadambas of Bayalnāḍ who apparently were claiming independence, since Bayalnāḍ is included among the provinces under Vinayāditya[3]. The Kadambas of Manjarabad and Banavasi were however friendly or even feudatories of the Chalukyas and Hoysaḷas[4]. In A. D. 1084 a chief under Vinayāditya died in a battle between the Noḷamba King and one Nēṛilige-pergaḍe[5]. Noḷambavāḍi was under the Chalukya Vishṇuvardhana Vijayāditya about this time[6]. Since the inscription begins with acknowledgement of Chalukya supremacy it is doubtless that Vinayāditya was helping his liege lord. The Hoysaḷas were in conflict with the Śāntaras of Humcha (Paṭṭi-Pomburcha-pura), in Nagar Taluqua near the Western Ghats, for a long period. In A. D. 1062 the Hoysaḷas seem to have defeated a general of Vīra Śāntaradēva[7]. Again in A. D. 1068 a Nāyak of the Hoysaḷa King slew Śāntara-dēva's Sāhaṇi Kētamalla[8]. According to Mr. Rice the Hoysaḷas were intimately associated with the Humchas, since one of the Humcha Gurus was Vardhamana who was saved by Saḷa[9]. By A. D. 1047 Ālvakhēḍa (South Kanara), Bayalnāḍ, Talakāḍ and Sāvimale were included in Vinayāditya's kingdom[10].

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[1] Ibid., Cn, 148.
[2] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 98.
[3] *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 297.
[4] Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 118.
[5] Ibid., p. 230.
[6] *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 297.

The part played by the Hoysaḷas in the struggle between Chōḷas and Chalukyas is obscure[11]. It would be an interesting problem to solve when the Hoysaḷas actually acquired the Gangavāḍi country. Mr. Rice refers to an inscription which in tracing their descent calls them the Rājas of Gangavāḍi; and he opines that this province certainly formed their earliest possession [1]. Dr. Fleet speaks of an inscription, probably the same, at Kandeya which says the same thing[2]. The exact situation of Gangavāḍi is not yet identified, but scholars are of opinion that it embraced "almost the whole of southern half of Mysore westwards" [3]. Large number of Hoysaḷa inscriptions were found in the Hassan District which must have been a part of Gangavāḍi; and hence Mr. Rice supposes that it was the heart of the Hoysaḷa kingdom [4]. So long as the powerful sovereigns of the Chōḷa and Chalukya dynasties were sharing between themselves the country on either side of the Peravu (Perdore or Heddore, that is 'the big river', very likely the Tuṅgabhadrā), the Hoysaḷas could not possibly have contemplated the acquisition of, and much less rule over Gangavāḍi. Vinayāditya's longing to win this territory may have been due to his blood relationship with the Western Gangas, and hence he might have considered it a rightful claim [5]. Besides Sōmēśvara Chalukya must have thought it safe to place this disputed territory under a chief whose hardy military forces were trained in the hill tracts of Mal-nāḍ. Again the Chalukyas might have had a natural affinity for them due to blood relationship. One Hoysaḷadēvi was in A. D. 1055 the Queen of Trailōkyamalla, the father of Vikramāditya VI [6]. Besides the Gangas had close relationship with the Chalukyas. This must have brought the three powers into a close political alliance.

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 58.

[2] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 329.

[3] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 32.

[4] *E. C.*, V, Introd., pp. 4-5.

[5] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 6

[6] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 449.

[7] *E. C.*, VIII, Nr, 71.

[8] Ibid., Nr, 70.

[9] Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, I, p. 373.

[10] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 32.

[11] Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 230.

We can gather from a record at Hirimagalur that Vinayāditya, evidently a subordinate of Trailōkyamalla Sōmēśvara I, was ruling in A. D. 1044 [7]. That in the same year he was also governing Gangavāḍi together with his son can be gleaned from an inscription at Kadūr[1]. From another inscription at Haḷe-Beḷgōḷa we learn that Tribhuvanamalla Eṟeyanga was, perhaps still as a Yuvarāja, ruling the Ganga-maṇḍala in Śaka 1015, Śrimukha (A.D. 1093-94)[2]. Besides there are some other inscriptions dated about the middle of this period, for example one of A. D. 1078[3], which state that he governed Gangavāḍi under the Chalukyas.

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[1] Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, II, p. 214.
[2] *I. A.*, VII, p. 173.
[3] Ibid., p. 172.
[4] *E. C.*, V, Introd., p. 9.
[5] *Q. J. M. S.*, II, p. 114.
[6] *E. C.*, VII, Hl, 1.
[7] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 7.

Hence we may conclude that Gangavāḍi was under the direct control of Vinayāditya from the beginning of his reign to its close. But his position was not secure until the accession of Vikramāditya VI to the Chalukya throne in A. D. 1076, and the temporary cessation of feuds with the Chōlas[4]. But this period strictly belongs to Eṟeyanga, though Vinayāditya lived till A. D. 1100. The latter must have retired from political activities in his ripe old age and left the kingdom in the hands of his son.

The boundaries of Vinayāditya's kingdom are given in an inscription at Nelamangala. These are Koṅkaṇa, Ālvakhēḍa, Bayalnāḍ, Talakāḍ and Sāvimale[5], which according to Mr. Rice are the present North Kanara, South Kanara and Wainaad; Talakāḍ being indentified with the south-east of the Mysore District and Sāvimale with the northern portion of the same[6]. But Dr. Fleet contends that the boundaries of Vinayāditya's kingdom in this record were largely borrowed from the boundaries of the territory which was first acquired in full by Vishṇuvardhana[7]. But another inscription dated A. D. 1103 —a date so close to the reign of Vinayāditya— gives the same boundaries[8].

Vinayāditya's possession of Talakāḍ is doubtful. It has been already stated that Talakāḍ was conquered from the

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[1] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 161.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 148.

[3] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 105.

[4] Cf. *Q. J. M. S.*, II, p. 115.

[5] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 32.

[6] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 98.

[7] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 492.

[8] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 160.

Gangas by the Chōḷas during the time of Nṛipa Kāma Hoysaḷa, and that Ganga Rāja, general of Vishṇuvardhana, captured it only in A. D. 1116. But Mr. Wilson, in his introduction to *The Mackenzie Collection*, states that Eṟeyanga secured the capital, Talakāḍ[1]. An inscription of A. D. 1100 says that he ruled "from the west as far as Talakāḍu like Dēvēndra"[2]. But the fact that Vinayāditya did hold sway over Talakāḍ can be deduced from an inscription dated A. D. 1047 at Toṇachi in Krishnarājpet which tells us that "during the rule of the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla Hoysaḷadēva, the six thousand of Taḷēkāḍu, the thousand of Kiṟunagara and the dēsi of the 18 countries, having met together, granted certain dues for the gods Ankakāra-dēva and Nagarēśvara"[3]. Hence it follows that though Talakāḍ was finally conquered for the Hoysaḷas by Ganga Rāja in A. D. 1116, yet Vinayāditya had a share in its rule. Mr. Srikantaiya is of opinion that Vinayāditya was ruling Talakāḍ under the Chōḷas[4]; and Dr. Fleet asserts that he was the feudatory of the Chōḷas[5]. These statements would lead us to doubt whether Vinayāditya was serving two masters who were bitter enemies of each other.

Vinayāditya had many important feudatories and governors under him. An inscription recently published states that Changālva Dēvaru, known as Mariyapergaḍe Pilduvaya, made a grant for feeding the poor[6]. Dr Shamashastry, who has transliterated this epigraph, states that from many inscriptions he has come to know that the Changālvas were the feudatories of the Hoysaḷas in the 11th century, and since this inscription is dated A. D. 1091 the Changālva chief Mariyapergaḍe was ruling under Vinayāditya and Eṟeyanga. As previously mentioned in this chapter, the Changālvas and the Kongālvas of the hill country were the feudatories of the Chōḷas, and Vinayāditya had defeated them.

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[1] Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 65.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 102 a.

[3] *M. A. R.*, 1914-15, p. 50.

[4] *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 297.

[5] *I. A*, VII, p. 173.

[6] *M. A. R.*, 1925, p. 95.

It may be that subsequently they acknowledged the supremacy of the Hoysaḷas.

An inscription of A. D. 1078 mentions another chief who acknowledged Vinayāditya, one Gaṇḍarāditya ruling Arakeṛe, Kāḷiguṇḍa, Kariviḍe, Belageṛe, Kundūr, Bālasamudra and Avāḷu. He must have been a chief of some importance since he is addressed as "mahāsāmantha Gandarāditya, entitled to the band of five chief instruments". But his possessions could not have been much more than villages; for example one of the places, Belageṛe, where this epigraph was discovered in a tank, is a small village in the Kibbanahaḷḷi hōbli of the Tiptur Taluqua [1].

In about A. D. 1065 a Ganga chief was ruling the Arabela Seventy under Vinayāditya. But he had retained all the resounding titles of his forefathers:— Konguḷi Varma Dharmma Mahārājādhirāja [2]. About the same time Eṛeyanga assumes the titles of Vīra Ganga; and Udayāditya, first a general and then a governor of Banavasi under the Chalukya King Bhuvanaikamalla, calls himself "a Ganga, Lord of Koḷālapura aud Nandagiri and possessor of the elephant crest" [3]. It thus appears that when the final catastrophe occured, the Ganga family dispersed northwards, some of them having founded the Ganga dynasty of Orrissa. Eventually some of the local chieftains appropriated their titles.

It appears again that a Ganga King called Rāchamalla was ruling in Madura and that his minister Chāmuṇḍa Rāya came over to Śrāvaṇa Beḷgōḷa, during the reign of Vinayāditya Hoysaḷa, to pay homage to the Gōmmaṭhēśvara [4]. Here Dr. Shamasastry supposes that the visit indicates Rāchamalla's feudal sovereignty over Vinayāditya. This supposition contradicts the fact mentioned above, where Gangas are stated to be the feudatories of the Hoysaḷas. It seems that

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[1] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 105.
[2] *I. A.*, VII, p. 172.
[3] Ibid., p. 172. Cf. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, pp. 120-121.
[4] *M. A. R.*, 1923, p. 127.

Chāmuṇḍa Rāya's visit to Śrāvaṇa Beḷgōḷa is due more to religious fervour than to anything else. The visit no doubt indicates friendship between Vinayāditya and Rāchamalla but there could not have been any political relationship between them.

Pōchimayya, a minister of Vinayāditya, was an important chief. The description of this chief is given in an inscription found in the Kadūr Taluqua: "When the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla Poyasaḷa-dēva, with his son Eṟeyanga-dēva, protecting under the shadow of his sole umbrella the Male country and others (forming) the Gangamaṇḍala Ninety-six Thousand, was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom:—

"The office of senior daṇḍanāyaka for all their affairs, and of minister for peace and war, being attached to him, the daṇḍanāyaka Pōchimayya having established his residence at Bīravūr, Ereyakeṟe, Machchēṟu and Tellinganakere as the town of his government, he made there the tanks, tank sluices, and wells and assumed the chiefship of the towns and the overlordship. And also ruling over certain other towns, he erected a Pōchēśvara temple, and for that temple granted certain land (specified), together with houses for two learned men and set up a śāsana establishing his lordship of the towns as long as the sun and the moon endure"[1].

There is no knowing when Vinayāditya transferred his capital to Belūr, in Hassan District. The reason for such a transfer may have been merely political since Sosavūr, being located in the hilly tracts of Kadūr on the Western Ghats was far from the area of political activity. Belūr, down on the plains, perhaps in the heart of the then Gangavāḍi Ninety-six Thousand, might have facilitated an able management of the kingdom in those turbulent times. When once the capital was transferred to Belūr, Śaśakapura lost its importance and must have become merely a place of Jaina pilgrimage. There is an inscription in which Ballāḷa I is described as paying a visit to Sosavūr, the original place of his ancestors. In another inscription it is stated that a monument of Lōkajita, one of the merchants of Sosavūr, who died in A. D. 1060, was erected by the company of townsmen [1].

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[1] *E. C.,* VI, Kd, 161.

Inscriptions of the last years of Vinayāditya refer to Belūr as the capital. In A. D. 1096 (not much earlier than his death) he was residing at Belūr with his son Eṟeyanga as Yuvarāja [2].

In none of the inscriptions of Vinayāditya is there any mention of Dōrasamudra (or Dwārasamudra). But there is evidence to suppose that the Hoysaḷas from early times had connection with it [3]. From an inscription at Śrāvaṇa Beḷgōḷa it can be gathered that Vinayāditya was a patron of architecture and town planning [4]; and from this Mr. Rice concludes that Dōrasamudra was under preparation, being adorned with splendid buildings by Vinayāditya [5]. An inscription of the reign of Eṟeyanga dated in A. D. 1094 describes 'Dwārāvati' as his capital where he was staying. Probably this place could be identified with Dwārasamudra.

Jainism was the state religion during Vinayāditya's reign; large number of inscriptions of his time were written to record grants mostly to Jaina edifices by the King as well as by his subjects. The historic Śrāvaṇa Beḷgōḷa was still a centre of Jaina enthusiasm. A little before the Hoysaḷas came into possession of this place the Ganga King had built an enclosure round the statue of Gōmata. During the time of Vinayāditya the Ganga King Rāchamalla had, as is previously said, sent his minister Chāmuṇḍa Rāya to Śrāvaṇa Beḷgōḷa all the way from Madura to pay homage to the Gōmata [6]. Sosavūr or Sosulya was also enjoying a good reputation being the Hoysaḷa capital. There was another important Jaina centre called Kalasatavāḍi (the modern Kalasvāḍi, situated at a distance of about four miles to the south of Śrīrangapatam). Two inscriptions found on the pedestals of two metal Jaina images at Śrāvaṇa Beḷgōḷa state that one was presented to the Tīrthada-basadi at Kaḷasatavāḍi by Dēvaṇandi bhaṭṭāraka's female disciple Māḷabbe, and the other was presented to the same basadi by Kaṇṇabbe-kantiyar [1]. In describing these inscriptions Rao Bahadur Narsimhachar says that according to tradition there were many Jaina bastis here at one time and that it is borne out by the fact that some years ago "a regular cart-load of metallic images and vessels belonging to Jaina bastis was unearthed in the bed of a channel that runs close to the village".

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[1] *E. C.*, VI, Mg, 16.
[2] Ibid., Kd, 142.
[3] *M. A. R.*, 1924, p. 31.
[4] *E. C.*, II, SB, 143 (53).
[5] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 96.
[6] *M. A. R.*, 1923, p. 127.

The people seem to have taken a great interest in the progress of their country. In 1074 one Poysaḷa Gāvuṇḍa made extensive repairs in Basavanahalli [2]. In A. D. 1047 the Six Thousand of Talakāḍ, the Thousand of Kirungara and the Deśi of the 18 countries having met together granted certain dues to the gods Annakara-dēva and Nagarēśvara [3].

Incidentally it may be remarked here that in A. D. 1062 Vinayāditya's guru Śānti-dēva "performing the rites of *sannyāsa*, as the reward of his faith attained to the realm of Nirvāṇa" [4]. The company of townsmen erected a monument in memory of the deceased guru at Sosavūr. This fact probably shows that Śānti-dēva was originally from this place, perhaps being a successor of Saḷa's muni.

An inscription records the fact that Vinayāditya became a great King by the favour of his teacher Śānti-dēva [5]. In A. D. 1063, a year after the death of Śānti-dēva, mention is made of Poysaḷa's guru Gunasēna-Pandita-dēva of Mullūr [6]. He was probably the successor of Śānti-dēva. This inscription speaks of one Māṇika Poysaḷachari, the son of Poysaḷachari who was Poysaḷa's wise man, the chief over those who hold the *uḷi* (chisel) and the *Baḷḷi* (creeper) or string. He seems to have been a famous carpenter under the royal patronage at Sosavūr.

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 35.
[2] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 15.
[3] *M. A. R.*, 1914-15, p. 50.
[4] *E. C.*, VI, Mg, 17.
[5] *E. C.*, II, SB, 67 (54).
[6] *E. C.*, VI, Mg, 13.

In spite of all his zeal for Jainism Vinayāditya was not a bigot. He was very cosmopolitan and extended his sympathy to Brahmanism as well. Towards the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh century there was a revival of Brahmanism under the influence of the last king of the Chēra dynasty, known also as a branch of the Ganga Vaṁśa, who were ruling round about the Western Ghats [1]. No doubt Brahmanism was flourishing during the time of Vinayāḍitya, for there is evidence of the existence of several *agrahāras* during his time. An inscription of A.D. 1061, in the Chikamagalur Taluqua states that Vinayāditya made a grant of the Piriya Mūguli agrahāra to Brahmans devoted to penance, fasting, reverence, private prayer, and other virtues [2]. In A.D. 1049 one Nagalate, daughter of Sandhivigrahi Echimaya and Sāntiyabbe, gave for the whole of the Kaḷchaṭṭi agrahāra, the paddy fields of Kaḷichūr. The land was made over under the supervision of Poysaḷa-dēva [3].

The reign of Vinayāditya was glorious with regard not only to the conquests that he made and to his governorship of the much disputed Gangavāḍi Ninety-six Thousand, but also to the constructive nature of his work. The large number of edifices and the erection of several towns and villages speak eloquently of the prosperous condition of his kingdom. The enthusiasm of Vinayāditya for the improvement of his kingdom is best described in an inscription of A. D. 1131 found at Śrāvaṇa Beḷgōḷa: "He (Vinayāditya) gladly made any number of tanks and temples, any number of Jaina shrines, any number of *nāḍus*, villages and subjects.

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[1] Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, I, p. 199.
[2] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 7.
[3] Ibid., Mg, 21.

When it is said that Vinayāditya Poysaḷa alone excelled the celebrated Balīndra, who can praise the greatness of that profound and brave King? The pits dug for bricks became tanks, the great mountains quarried for stone became level with the ground, the roads by which the mortar-carts passed became ravines;—thus did King Poysaḷa cause Jaina temples to be erected. This said, who can describe the King of the hill kings?" [1]

No doubt then that he was loved and adored by his subjects:— "Vinayāditya was praised by the whole universe, his two royal qualities, politeness and prowess shining like two eyes for the world" [2].

The governing body of Vinayāditya's kingdom consisted of Eṟeyanga his son, and five ministers. The former was always associated with his father, and in later years was to all purposes the King himself. Of the five ministers only two have been discovered. Pōchimayya residing at Bīravūr, as has been mentioned above, was the minister for peace and war. But the date of his inscription is A.D. 1063[3]. In A.D. 1096 we have another minister for peace and war named Nāga-dēva [4]. But there is a gulf of 33 years between both, and they do not seem to have been contemporary officers. An inscription of about A.D. 1090 mentions "the great minister Hoysaḷa dēva's treasurer Chandimayya", whose wife Boppave died while performing *sannyasana* [5]. In A. D. 1060 there was one Chāvuṇḍa Rāya ruling Dēsavaṇi in Āsandināḍ, who had built many temples [6]. An inscription in Kadūr of 1090 mentions the name of one Udēyāditya Nāyaka, the Nāḷgāvuṇḍa of Kalavara-nāḍ [7].

Vinayāditya's Queen was Kēḷeyabbarasi, who was sometimes known as Kēḷiya [8], or Keḷaya-dēvi [9]. Nothing is known of her pedigree. She had brought about a marriage between Mariyāne daṇṇāyaka and one Adekavve daṇṇāyakitti conferring on him the lordship of Śindigere. The inscription says that while Keḷaya-dēvi was residing at Sosulyå, she cherished Mariyāne daṇḍanāyaka as her younger brother. Accordingly she, Vinayāditya Poysaḷa being also present, gave in marriage Adikavve daṇḍanāyakitti to Mariyāne daṇḍanāyaka conferring on him also the lordship of Śindigere in Āsandi-nāḍ in the year 1039-40 [1]. Mariyāne was the father of a person of the same name whose three daughters were given in marriage to Ballāḷa I in A. D. 1103 [2]. This alliance between the family of Mariyāne and the Hoysaḷas was of great importance, since the Mariyānes as the lords of Śindigere became the trusted ministers and generals of the Hoysaḷas.

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[1] *E. C.*, II, SB, 143 (53).
[2] *M. A. R.*, 1926, p. 50.
[3] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 161.
[4] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 142.
[5] *E. C.*, VIII, Tl, 198.
[6] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 186.
[7] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 22.
[8] *E. C.*, II, SB, 349 (138).
[9] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 329.

It may also be mentioned here that Vinayāditya was associated with another Queen called Pariyala-dēvi [3].

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Cf. *E. C.*, VI, Introd., p. 15.

[3] *E. C.*, VI, Mg, 13.

CHAPTER V

The Yuvaraja Ereyanga, A. D. 1063-1100

Eṛeyanga, Yeṛeyanga, Peṛeyanga or Eṛeganga was the son of Vinayāditya by Queen Kaleyabbe[1]. He was sometimes called Eṛega[2] and even Vittala Rāja[3]. He appears in the inscriptions between A.D. 1070 and 1100. His latest inscriptions do not fall after 1100[4]. According to the *Chennabasava Kalajnana* his period is between A. D. 1063[5] and 1114[6].

Whether Eṛeyanga ever occupied the throne as King seems doubtful. Mr. Rice supposes that he died before his father as Yuvarāja, since Vinayāditya's inscriptions are dated up to A. D. 1100[7]. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar also supposes that Vinayāditya was succeeded to the throne by his eldest grand-son Ballāḷa[8]. Mr. Krishna Sastri says that Eṛeyanga was ruling as King from A. D. 1095 to 1100, and he ascribes all the inscriptions within these dates mentioning "Tribhuvanamalla Hoysaḷa" to Eṛeyanga and not to Vinayāditya, as Mr. Rice supposes[9]. But two inscriptions dated A. D. 1098 mention Vinayāditya as the ruling King. In the light of such evidence, Mr. Shastri's argument does not hold good. Hence we can be positively sure that the period of Eṟeyanga does not extend beyond that of Vinayāditya; but could he have been ruling as a King during his father's lifetime is a question difficult to solve. The function of a Yuvarāja was much greater than it is understood now. After attaining majority it was usual for a Yuvarāja to take part directly in the administration of the country, by assuming charge of government of a distant province in the kingdom. He would be known as Prince or Rāja. This evidently supposes a kind of dual power in the kingdom, which occasionally gave rise to the junior ruler questioning the authority of the senior, as in the case of Ballāḷa II.

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 58.
[2] Ibid., Ak, 102 a.
[3] Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 65.
[4] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 102 a.
[5] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 161.
[6] *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 297.
[7] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 98.
[8] S.K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 234.
[9] *Q. J. M. S.*, II, p. 116.

In the case of Eṟeyanga the responsibility must have been still greater due to the fact that Vinayāditya was at least eighty years old towards the end of his reign and must have been quite unable to take an active part in the administration of the country. It is Eṟeyanga and not Vinayāditya that took part in the wars of Vikramāditya VI towards the close of the eleventh century. An inscription in Kadūr dated A. D. 1075 mentions the "Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vīra Eṟeyanga Hoysaḷa Dēva ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom"[1], and nothing is said of Vinayāditya. This evidently presupposes the regal powers of Eṟeyanga. But an inscription of A. D. 1096 (much later than the one referred to above) specifically mentions that "Eṟeyanga Dēva held the rank of Yuvarāja"[2]. It is therefore quite evident that Eṟeyanga held the rank of Yuvarāja though to all practical purposes he was ruling his father's land. His was a very peculiar case, to have ruled the kingdom for about 33 years and only as a Yuvarāja.

Before entering into narrating the military expeditions of Eṟeyanga, it is first necessary to mention an important epigraph of his which apparently upsets the normal Hoysaḷa chronology. It is a viragal at Keḷagūr,

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[1] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 33.
[2] Ibid., Kd, 142.

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Chikamagalur Taluqua, engraved in about A.D. 1063. It tells us that the "mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla Talakāḍugonda Bhujabala-Vīra-Ganga-Hoysaḷa Dēva Udayāditya Dēva attained the world of gods at Kelevatti; and Rāhuta-Gauḍa of Bidirūr set up a stone on Sunday the 10th lunar day in the bright fortnight of Kārtika of the year Krōdhi; and having devotedly given his life, the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kumāra-Eṛeyanga-Dēva granted from the year Subhakrit a *kāhu* of one *paṇa* at Bidirūr for Rāhuta Gauḍa"[1]. As far as we know Udayāditya Hoysaḷa was the son of Eṛeyanga who, we are told, died in A. D. 1123 at Kellavatri[2], and therefore he could not even have been born in A. D. 1063. Besides it is not possible that the father Eṛeyanga was styled as Kumāra or Prince while the son Udayāditya was given regal titles. The Udayāditya therefore mentioned in the viragal is quite different from the Udayāditya of A. D. 1123. Mr. Srikantaiya however believes that Udayāditya and Eṛeyanga mentioned here were the ancestors of Vinayāditya and puts down the Hoysaḷa table thus:-

Saḷa
(about A. D. 950)
|
Udayāditya
|
Kumāra Eṛeyanga
|
Kari
|
Vinayāditya I[3]
|
Nṛipa Kāma
|
Vinayāditya II
|
Eṛeyanga[4]

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 52.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 102.

[3] Cf. above, pp. 31-33.

[4] *Q. J. M. S.*, VIII, p. 67.

Mr. Srikantaiya has put forth only a theory, but it stands no ground. Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar explains away the discrepancy by saying that Udayāditya was a senior member of the family, at whose death Ereyanga gave a grant [1]. This explanation is supported by the fact that the epigraph does not mention that Ereyanga was the son of Udayāditya. It may also be that the royal person Udayāditya belonged to a period later than that of Vishnuvardhana since he is given the title of Talakāḍugonda, which was first assumed by Vishṇuvardhana, in A. D. 1116. Hence the date of the inscription A. D. 1067 may be faulty.

Ereyanga was associated with Vikramāditya VI in his glorious conquests. He was styled as the right hand of the Chalukya King [2]. Long before Vikramāditya came to the throne Ereyanga helped him in his intrigues to displace his brother Sōmēśvara Bhuvanaikamalla, who was ruling at that time. An inscription in Arsikere says that Ereyanga caused the elder brother to sheath (his sword) at the bidding of Emperor Vikrama [3]. The intimacy between Ereyanga and Vikramāditya must have risen during their governorship of Gangavāḍi, the former as the subordinate and the latter as the master, for Vikramāditya when Yuvarāja was the Viceroy of Gangavāḍi in A. D. 1055 [4].

This great King succeeded to the throne in A. D. 1076. It was a period of internal commotion: the old dynasties of the Eastern Chalukyas, the Gangas and the Kadambas of Banavasi were in decadence and their territories were being conquered by the rising Chōḷas. The predecessors of Vikrama had been in bitter strife with this power. Just at this time when Vikramāditya assumed rulership there seems to have been a cessation of feuds between Chalukyas and Chōḷas, but it did not last long. This temporary compromise was brought about by a Pāṇḍya King, who apparently was

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 52.
[2] *E. C.*, II, SB, 327 (124).
[3] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 102a.
[4] Cf. *Q. J. M. S.*, II, p. 115.

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a feudatory of the Chōḷa King Vīrarājēndra I. He was chiefly instrumental in subduing Sōmēśvara II and in "tying round the neck of Salukki Vikramāditya, who had taken refuge at his feet, a necklace and bestowing on him the seven and a half lakhs of Raṭṭapāḍi"[1]. An inscription in Arsikere says that "turning back Bhuvanaikamalla, so that the earth was terrified, he (the Pāṇḍya) with great rejoicing seized his kingdom and in his own body gave it to Tribhuvanamalla"[2].

Prior to this event the daughter of Vīrarājēndra had been given in marriage to Vikramāditya, after the latter had been driven away from Gangavāḍi[3]. This alliance therefore must have been brought about from political considerations. Nevertheless it stood in Vikramāditya's favour since the Chōḷa King extended his influence to displace Sōmēśvara, as stated above. Besides Eṟeyanga married Mahā-Dēvi, daughter of a certain Irukkāvēḷ or Irukkāpaḷa, the younger brother of the Pāṇḍya who assisted Vikramāditya[4].

This alliance between the two powers lasted as long as Vīrarājēndra was on the throne. But troubles began again with the accession of Kulottunga I to the Chōḷa throne in A. D. 1070. Through his mother he was the grandson of Rājēndra Chōḷa, but on his father's side he was the Eastern Chalukya King[5]. He is said to have subdued the Western Chalukyas, and by his valour he acquired the two countries Gangamaṇḍalam and Singanam[6]. This shows that the Chōḷas had temporarily lost the Gangavāḍi. From the *Vikramānkadēvacharita* it is well known that Vikrama had once more to extinguish the Chōḷa power[7]. After this he must have firmly established his sway over the Gangamaṇḍala, for in A. D. 1093 Eṟeyanga was ruling there[8].

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[1] *Q. J. M. S.*, II, p. 115.

[2] *E.C.*, V, Ak, 102a.

[3] *Q. J. M. S.*, II, p. 115.

[4] *E.C.*, V, Ak, 102a.

[5] Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 91.

[6] *E. C.*, IX, Cp, 77.

[7] Buhler, *Vikramankadevacharita*, p. 26, vv. 61, 63, 65, 66; p. 30, vv. 22-28.

[8] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 148.

It was at this time that Ẹreyanga took an important part in war. In an inscription in Arsikere it is said that he caused the Chōḷikas King to wear leaves[1]. In another inscription he is said to have plundered the camp of the Chōḷa[2]. He also entered upon the conquest of the north[3], perhaps under the Chalukyas. One of his glorious victories in the north was at Dhāra in Mālva, the kingdom of the Paramāras[4]. It is said that when he led an expedition to the north "he first took into his hands the kingdom first conquered by Bhōja Rāja, chief among the Mālva kings, mighty of arm, as if taking the Apōsana (or sip of water) preliminary to a feast"[5]. "Putting a bit into (the mouth of) the host of Kings between the Himā mountain and Sētu, he mounted them—the king Ẹrega at the bidding of the Chāḷūkya Emperor"[6]. The conquest between Himā and Sētu is nothing more than a poetic flourish, but nevertheless it bespeaks the glory of Ẹreyanga. The same inscription says that he caused Nannuge—a person not yet identified—to write himself down in three letters ಅಣ್ಣುಗೆ, (*annuge*) which means a woman or a coward; and that the fire of his glory sprang up in the mountains and seized the city Virōdhipuram of his enemies on the Vindyas.

The capture of Dhāra seems to be looked upon as a glorious victory, for it is said that the "Mālava King's hill-fort, which was too strong for the Chalukyas, he without effort plundered while Chalukya was looking on"[7]. In another place it is said that Dhāra was considered to be the loft (*male*) of the Mālava kingdom, but Ẹreyanga easily won it and made it over to his liege lord[8]. The significance of the word *loft* is better understood in another inscription where it is said that Dhāra was the root (*mūla*) of Mālava[1]. He seems to have plundered Dhara by burning it[2]. The same inscription says that he defeated Kalinga. The incident of burning the city of Dhāra is given in detail in an inscription of A. D. 1117, in the Belūr Taluqua. It says that "Dhāra, the chief city of the powerful Mālava kings, which Bhōja by victory over hostile kings had enlarged and made famous, he took,. . . so that the smoke blinded the eyes of the regents at the points of the compass, caused the white regent elephants to appear black, and filled the whole sky with a dense cloud"[3]. Moreover it is stated that "Poysaḷa burnt all Bhōja's principal fortresses. The dust raised by his army coming down on the hills mingled with the clouds, and as he marched on burning all he encountered, it was as if he was unfurling a banner of smoke from Bhōja's destruction"[4]. In his onward march of conquests the prince seems to have swept along the coast, probably owing to the facilities it offered for an easy route. We are further told in the inscription that "the burning of Baleyapaṭṭaṇa, on the sea-shore, by the flames of king Eṟeyanga's anger brought to mind the appearance of the waves of the sea when consumed by Rama's fiery arrow". Tradition ascribes the conquest of Talakāḍ, the ancient Ganga capital, to Eṟeyanga[5], but there is no other proof to confirm it.

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[1] Ibid., Ak, 102a.

[2] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 123 bis.

[3] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 261.

[4] Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 234.

[5] Rice, l. c.

[6] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 102a.

[7] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 117.

[8] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 123.

As I have already mentioned the Gangas were entirely subjugated by the Chōḷas towards the beginning of the eleventh century and one of the Ganga kings was ruling in Āsandi. His descendents became the trusted feudatories of the Hoysaḷas ever afterwards. But Eṟeyanga was the first Hoysaḷa ruler to assume the title of Vīra-Ganga[6], a title which became very popular during the reign of his successors. Mr.

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[1] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 128.

[2] Ibid., Tp, 123 bis.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 58.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 65; Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, I, p. 214.

[6] *I. A.*, VII, p. 172; Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 307.

Rice supposes that perhaps after assuming the protection of the Ganga prince he took the name of Ganga[1]. Many of his bombastic titles, characteristic of the mediaeval Hindu ages, were of posthumous creation, such as: "A spring season to the creeper liberality", "A Yama incarnation in battle" "A Brahma in investigating the skill of learned men", "A possessor of great beauty"[2]. An inscription in the Arsikere Taluqua of about A. D. 1100 gives him the singular encomium "deceiver of women" (abaḷa Jattakan) but the same inscription gives him the credit of being the "god of love to the best of women"[3].

Eṛeyanga's residence in A. D. 1094 was Belūr and sometimes Dwāravati (Haḷebiḍu)[4]. His prime minister was Manaveggaḍe Kundamārāya. An inscription dated A. D. 1094 says that he held the offices of mahāmātya and mahāpradhāna, and was ruling Tāvarekere in Mayse-nāḍu[5]. This inscription says that he "caused a new tank together with a Śaiva temple to be constructed and gave a grant of a field to the temple for food offering to god Mandēśvara and a plot of land......for the service of god Kalidēva."

Under Eṛeyanga there was a Ganga prince of the ancient Ganga line by the name of Vaijarasa. The chiefs of his line assumed the titles "Kongulivarmma dharmma-mahārājādhirāja" and were ruling Āsandi[6]. Vaijarasa is said to have been a very skilful archer. It is said that when "Aggada Rāya ran into the Bēḍarabanki forest, in front of Hemmadi, he aimed an arrow at him from his bow, which not only went through his skull, but continuing on to the amazement of the spectators, hit one eye of a kite that was flying in the sky. For this extraordinary feat he received from Hemmāḍi Rāya the title *Kaṇṇ-ambi* (eye-arrow)"[7].

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[1] Rise, o. c., p. LXXVI.
[2] *E. C.,* II, SB, 349 (138).
[3] *E. C.,* V, Ak, 102a.
[4] *M. A. R.,* 1924, p. 31.
[5] Ibid.
[6] *E. C.,* VI, Tk, 61.
[7] Ibid.

Ereyanga had three sons, Ballāḷa I, Bittidēva and Udayāditya by his wife Echāla-Dēvi; but no further information is given regarding this Queen. His other wife was Mahā-Dēvi, who was of the Chōḷa family, as we have already mentioned, and belonged to the Sūrya vaṁśa[1]. Mr. Srikantaiya says that Echāla-Dēvi also was a Chōḷa princess[2]. It seems he identifies Echāla-Dēvi with Mahā-Dēvi. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar also throws a doubt whether Echāla-Dēvi might not have been the princess Mahā-Dēvi[3]. It is supposed that Ballāḷa was the eldest son of Ereyanga and Udayāditya the youngest, since in almost every inscription that mentions their names Ballāḷa is put first and Udayāditya the last. Besides Ballāḷa as a King was ruling between A. D. 1100 and 1105; whereas Udayāditya died in A. D. 1123[4] without being a king. Mr. Elliot and Dr. Fleet are of the same opinion[5]. An inscription in Shimoga has the three names Ballāḷa, Bitti and Udayāditya and it says that the "middle one" became the chief, which means that Ballāḷa was the first and Udayāditya the last[6].

Ereyanga had a son-in-law called Hemmaḍi, but the name of Ereyanga's daughter is not mentioned. Hemmaḍi or Hermma Mandhata-bhupa, as his full name goes, was a dweller at the lotus feet of Chalukya Tribhuvanamalla Dēva; besides he was an "arasa"[7]. Perhaps he was the same Hemmaḍi who rewarded the Ganga Prince Vaijarasa for his skilful archery. Hemmaḍi seems to have been a Jaina feudatory, as can be deduced from the fact that he made a Jaina temple of the Krānūr gaṇa of the Mēshapāshaṇa-gachchha and Śri-Mūla-Sangha[8].

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 102,

[2] *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 298.

[3] S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 234.

[4] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 102.

[5] *I. A.*, II, p. 299.

[6] *E. C.*, VII, Sh, 64.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

Ajitasēna, a great Jaina muni, was the guru of Eṟeyanga[1]. The sage was also the guru of the Śāntara King Māra[2]; while the guru of Echāla Dēvi (in A.D. 1060) was Guṇasēna Pandita of the Dravila gaṇa, Nandisaṅgha and Aruṅgal-anvaya[3].

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[1] *E.C.*, VI, Introd., p. 11.
[2] Ibid.
[3] *E.C.*, V, Ag, 98.

CHAPTER VI

Ballala I (1101-1104)

Contemporaries

Chalukya King:—
    Vikramāditya VI, A. D. 1076-1126.
Chōḷa Kings:—
    Rājēndra Chōḷa II, A. D. 1070.
    Vikrama Chōḷa, A. D. 1118.
Pāṇḍya Kings:—
    Irukkavēla Tribhuvanamalla
    Pāṇḍya, A. D. 1101-1124.
Changāḷva King:—
    Ānandani, A. D. 1106.
Śāntara King:—
    Jagadēva, A. D. 1104.

We have seen that Ereyanga had three sons Ballāḷa, Bittidēva and Udayāditya; Ballāḷa being the first and Udayāditya the last. The inscriptions after A. D. 1100 do not mention the names of Vinayāditya and Ereyanga, both of whom must have died by this time, therefore Ballāḷa succeeded his grandfather in A. D. 1100. His earliest inscription is dated in A. D. 1101[1]. The three brothers were already grown up at the death of their father and must have worked in harmony for the prosperity of their country. An inscription in Nāgamangala Taluqua, though of a much later date (A. D. 1194), says that Ballāḷa, Vishṇu and Udayāditya captured the army of Jagadēva at Dōrasamudra[1]. The youngest brother Udayāditya survived Ballāḷa, but died in the life time of Vishṇuvardhana. From the inscription just mentioned it is probable that he occupied an important position and remained faithful to his royal brother. The affection ot Vishṇuvardhana for his brother is inferred from the fact that at the news of Udayāditya's death in A. D. 1123 at Kelavatti in Nirgunda-nāḍ, he made a grant of Kelavatti as a rent-free agrahāra to the Brahmans who were dependent on him[2]. The King was at this time on the bank of the Kavēri. It appears that Udayāditya accompanied his brother during the Chōḷa wars of A. D. 1116, from an inscription of A. D. 1117 at Chikkamagulur, which informs us that Echāla-dēvi, daughter of Udayādityarasa had ended her life (probably by Jaina rites) at Vijayitamangala[3]. Vijayitamangala is the original name of Bettamangala in the south-east of the Kolar District. This place was in the war area when Vishṇuvardhana recovered Talakāḍ and drove the Chōḷas out of Mysore in A. D. 1116. Presuming that Echāla-dēvi was residing with her father at the time of her death, we may conclude with Mr. Rice that Vishṇuvardhana must have been accompanied by his brother Udayāditya[4].

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 199.

During Ballāḷa's reign there was no substantial development in the Hoysaḷa territory. By the first inscription of his time dated in A. D. 1101 we are informed that he was ruling all the lands bounded by Koṅkāṇāḍ, Āḷva-khēda, Bayal-nāḍ, Talakāḍ and Sāvimale[5], which were evidently the boundaries of Vinayāditya and Ereyanga. The epigraph further informs us that he paid a visit to Sosavūr. Since the inscription is of A. D. 1101, this visit must have been made previous to that date. The capital which was transferred from Sosavūr to Belūr must have been established there permanently, for an inscription of A. D. 1103 informs us that "in peace and wisdom he was in the residence of the capital city Beluhūr, ruling the kingdom"[1].

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[1] *E. C.*, VI, Mg, 30.
[2] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 102.
[3] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 70.
[4] Cf. Ibid. Introd., p. 15.
[5] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 199.

It was probably the next year that he died and was succeeded by his brother. Quoting the *Bhujabali Satāka* by poet Doḍḍaiya, Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar says that Ballāḷa was threatened by some spirit, an enemy of his former birth, and the ascetic Chārukīrti by saving his life got the title *Ballāḷajīvarakshapāla*, or the saviour of Ballāḷa's life[2]. Doḍḍaiya was a Jaina poet of A. D. 1550[3] and he narrates this tradition which was still extant in his time; for two inscriptions of 1358 and 1432 incidentally refer to Ballāḷa's terrible illness which was cured by the Jaina guru Chārukīrti: "Even the air that had but touched his (Chārukīrti's) body cured desease? Was it much that his medicine cured King Ballāḷa of his desease?"[4]. The reason for Ballāḷa's short reign may be found in the illness which had been temporarily cured.

Apparently the dates of Ballāḷa and Vishṇuvardhana overlap each other. An inscription dated in A. D. 1100 mentions Bittiga Hoysaḷa-dēva as ruling Gangavāḍi Nine Hundred[5]. Perhaps he was in the capacity of crown prince. Mr. Shrikantaiya, quoting Fergusson, says that he commenced his reign in A. D. 1114, while expressing the views of Sewell he gives his date as A. D. 1115[6]. According to Mr. Rice the earliest actual date that can be cited for him is A. D. 1111[7], as inferred from an inscription in Shimoga District dated that year[8]. While at another place he puts forth an extreme view that Ballāḷa does not seem to have come to the throne [1]. Since the real activities of Vishṇuvardhana begin early in A. D. 1116, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar is led to suppose that Ballāḷa continued his reign some time after A. D. 1106 [2].

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[1] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 160.

[2] *E. C.*, II, Introd., p. 63.

[3] Cf. Narasimhachar, *Karnataka Kavi Charite*, II, p. 251.

[4] *E. C.*, II, SB, 254 (105) and 258 (108).

[5] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 164.

[6] Cf. *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 297.

[7] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 91.

[8] *E. C.*, VII, Sh, 89.

But the dispute about Ballāla's date may perhaps be settled with the help of an inscription at Doda-Ballapur [3]. It was engraved in A. D. 1115 and it states that a grant was made by the Gāmuṇḍa of Maṇṇai-nādu in Vikkirama-Sōla-maṇḍalam in the 12th year of the reign of the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vīra Ganga Poyiśaḷa Dēvar; which means that Vishṇuvardhana ascended the throne in A. D. 1104. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that no inscriptions of Ballāḷa are written after this date. In the light of this evidence Mr. Rice's statement that Ballāḷa died in A. D. 1104 seems very probable [4].

Brief though the reign of Ballāḷa was, it plays its part in the promotion of Hoysaḷa prosperity. Inscriptions do not show Ballāḷa I as having taken any part in the mighty campaigns of Vikramāditya VI as his father Ereyanga had done, but his successful defence of Dōrasamudra against Jagadēva of Patti Pamburchapura and his victory over the Changāḷvas reveals no small military power.

The Changāḷvas were a petty clan of chieftains ruling in the west of Mysore and in Coorg, having exclusive jurisdiction between Panasuge and Talekaveri in Coorg, which probably mark their boundaries on the east and west [5]. They were subjugated by the Chōḷas early in the eleventh century and were perhaps their feudatories [6]. During the time of Ballāḷa I they must have been still the allies of the Chōḷas and hence the Hoysaḷa attack. The Changāḷvas were the neighbours of the Kongāḷvas ruling in the north of Coorg, against whom Nṛipa Kama had made successful campaigns. These two kingdoms comprised perhaps the Male rājas whom the Hoysaḷas profess to have conquered.

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[1] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. LXXVI.

[2] *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 471.

[3] *E. C.*, IX, DB, 11.

[4] *E. C.*, IV, Introd., p. 19.

[5] *E. C.*, I, Introd., p. 13.

[6] *E. C.*, I, Cg, 46.

The actual date of Ballāḷa's conquest over the Changāḷvas is not certain but two inscriptions found in the Somēśvara temple in Guḍḍatteraṇya in Ponnāthapurahōbli, Hassan Taluqua, seem to suggest the date as A.D. 1104[1]. The second inscription, with a doubtful date, tells us that while Ballāḷa was leading an expedition against Changāḷva Dēva, he made a grant of Sindur to provide for the Monday ceremonies and perpetual lamp of the god Somēśvara; while the first inscription, the date of which is A.D. 1104, mentions that while Ballāḷa I was ruling Rāma Gauṇḍa of Changanād caused an image of the god Somēśvara to be erected. This place was on the border of the Changāḷva territory, if not in it; and Ballāḷa must have encamped there before attacking the enemy. Changa-nād as the name indicates was a territory originally belonging to the Changāḷvas, and even later in the 15th century was their principal centre. All these circumstances lead to the supposition that the inscriptions were written at the same time. Mr. Rice arrives at the same conclusion[2].

The Changāḷvas proved a constant thorn in the side of the Hoysaḷas. Vishṇuvardhana, Narasiṁha I and Ballāḷa II had to wage war with them repeatedly, for they proved very turbulent feudatories. During the time of Ballāḷa I they were lifting their heads too high[3]. In about A. D. 1100 they claimed, like so many other dynasties of the south, descendency from the Yādava Kula[4]. Besides they assumed the titles of Pancha-Maha-Śabda and Tribhuvanamalla[5]. This apparently shows their rising power and it necessitated Ballāḷa to subdue them. The Changāḷva King who encountered Ballāḷa was perhaps Ānanda, who appears in A. D. 1106 shorn of all titles[6].

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 161, 162.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Introd., p. 12.

[3] *E. C.*, I, Introd., p. 14.

[4] *E. C.*, IV, Yd, 26.

[5] *E. C.*, I, Introd., p. 4.

[6] *E. C.*, I, Cg, 51.

The other achievement of Ballāḷa, namely his victory over Jagadēva, was of a much more vital importance. This Jagadēva, who was the Śāntara King according to Mr. Rice, belongs to the ruling line of Patti Pomburchapura or Humcha in Nagar Taluqua[1]. Fleet agrees with Rice[2]. He was perhaps the one who was ruling under Chalukya Perma Jagadēkamalla II in A. D. 1149[3]. He was also called the Mālava Jagadēva[4]. He seems to have marched with a large army of elephants to Dōrasamudra where he was ousted by Ballāḷa, capturing his treasury and the central ornament of his necklace[5]. It is here mentioned that Vishṇuvardhana joined his brother. King Ballāḷa displayed a splendid military prowess in this battle. A Gadag inscription says that he attacked Jagadēva, the lord of elephants, with his own horse in the van of battle and overturned him and took away his sevenfold sovereignty[6]. "By him (Ballāḷa)", reads another record, "Jagadēva, mounted on his own elephant, was overcome in a battte with elephants"[7]. At another place it is said that the Mālava Emperor Jagadēva, whose proud elephant he (Ballāḷa) made to scream out, said: "Well done, horse-man"; to which Ballāḷa replied: "I am not only a horse-man, I am Vīra-Ballāḷa"; and by his slaughter excited the astonishment of the world[8].

Some inscriptions attribute the defeat of Jagadēva to Vishṇuvardhana, who is called "A Bhairava in destroying the army of Jagadēva"[9]; while another inscription says that all the three brothers, Ballāḷa, Vishṇu, and Udayāditya took part in the war[10]. But most of the inscriptions attribute the success to Ballāḷa and Vishṇuvardhana alone.

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[1] *E. C.*, IV, Introd., p. 18.
[2] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 458.
[3] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 97.
[4] *E. C.*, VI, Tk, 45.
[5] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 116.
[6] *E. I.*, VI, p. 91.
[7] *M. A. R.*, 1923, p. 35.
[8] *E. C.*, VI, Tk, 45.
[9] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 263.
[10] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 30.

It is not certain when this battle took place. From the fact that Ballāḷa I was the hero of the campaign, the date may be safely put between A. D. 1100 and 1104; but Dr. Lüders supposes that "the joint victory of the three brothers over Jagadēva took place before A. D. 1118"[1].

The fact that Jagadēva came all the way from his kingdom in the hill country to sack Dōrasamudra[2] presupposes a support from a superior monarch to overpower the rising Hoysaḷas. Since Jagadēva was ruling in Patti Pomburchapura under the Chalukyas, it is probable that the Chalukyas had a hand in attacking the Hoysaḷas. This is supported by an inscription at Śrāvana Beḷgōḷa, where Vishṇuvardhana is said to have drunk the rolling sea of the armies of the lord of Mālava (apparently referring to the battle stated above) sent by the Emperor (Chakriṇ)[3]. Mr. Krishna Shastri says that in the latter part of his reign Vikramāditya VI did not exert the same influence on his subordinates as in his earliest years, and that some of the subordinates who were more adventurous than the others, appear to have made an attempt to throw off the imperial yoke[4]. Jagadēva was a faithful servant of his overlord and attacked Prola II, the Kakatīya King in A. D. 1117[5], who was another great feudatory, and like the Hoysaḷas he seems to have taken advantage of Vikramāditya's weakened reign to throw off the imperial yoke later on[6].

Side by side with his conquest over Jagadēva, Ballāḷa is credited to have defeated the Pāṇḍya[7]. This king must have been the ruler of Nolambavāḍi under the Chalukyas[8].

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[1] *E. I.*, VI, p. 91.

[2] During Ballala's reign, Belur was the capital; but he must have advanced forward meeting the enemy at Dorasamudra which is only 10 miles away.

[3] *E. C.*, II, SB, 138.

[4] *Q. J. M. S.*, II, p. 117.

[5] Cf. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, I, p. 278.

[6] Cf. *Q. J. M. S.*, II, p. 117.

[7] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 58.

[8] Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 235.

This attack as the former one, discloses the first attempts of the Hoysaḷas for independence.

The Chalukya King at this time was evidently inimical towards the Hoysaḷas. The Gangas, who had been utterly defeated by the Chōḷas and had been squeezed out of existance in the Chalukya territories by the Hoysaḷas, were at this time slowly raising their heads. The Ganga King Permāḍi Dēva had had some conquests and was residing at Edehalli (in Koppa Taluqua), and between A.D. 1026 and 1103 he was ruling the Gangavāḍi Ninety-six Thousand under the Chalukyas[1]. Thus it is evident that the Chalukya Emperor had appointed the Ganga chief as his political agent in Gangavāḍi to watch the progress of the Hoysaḷas.

An inscription in Tiptur Taluqua gives a list of kings on whom Ballāḷa made his power felt. It runs:—"Chēra, cast away your enmity; Pāṇḍya, do not strive; Āndhra, fly not to a hole; Oḍḍa, give up the thought of peril; Māḷava, expose not your body in battle; you, Tiguḷa, move off:—such are the proclamations heard of the heralds of the might of King Ballu"[2]. These titles though apparently fictitious nevertheless indicate that Ballāḷa assumed equality with the great kings of Southern India.

Ballāḷa was ruling the Gangavāḍi Ninety-six Thousand with his head-quarters at Belūr, probably with Dōrasamudra as an alternative[3], like his father Eṟeyanga, and he retained the same titles. According to an inscription of A. D. 1103 he was entitled to the five great drums, and possessed the following birudas: boon lord of Dvārāvatipura, sun to the sky of the Yādava Kula, head-jewel of virtue, adorned with many titles, the mahāmandalēśvara, apratiśaṅkamalla[4]. The title 'apratiśaṅkamalla' means a hero who knows no opposition. He also obtained the title 'bagibaludēva', for the speed with which he defeated the combination of proud enemies[5].

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[1] *E. C.*, VII, Hl, 14; Sh, 115.
[2] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 128.
[3] Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 230.
[4] *E. C.*, IV, Kr, 55.
[5] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 330.

It is interesting to note that one of Ballāḷa's inscriptions of A. D. 1102 is dated as the 26th year of the Chalukya Vikrama-kāla [1]. It is perhaps one of the earliest references to the era of Vikramāditya VI. Many such instances can be found in later times, during the reign of Vishṇuvardhana and other feudatories of Vikramāditya VI [2].

Inscriptions reveal Ballāḷa's marriage to the three daughters of Mariyāne daṇḍanāyaka. "To Mariyāne daṇḍanāyaka and Chāmavve daṇḍanāyakitti, who resembled a second Lakshmi, were born Paḍmala-dēvi, Chāvala-dēvi and Boppa-dēvi. These three becoming highly accomplished in sciences, in singing and dancing, and of a fame which made them worthy to grace the capital of three separate kings; Ballāḷa-dēva married the three virgins on the same marriage hall (pendal)"; and in the Śaka year 1025 (A. D. 1103) the year Svabhānu, the month Kārtika, the 10th day of the moon's increase, Thursday, as a marriage gift,.... "again conferred on Mariyāne daṇḍanāyaka of the second generation, Sindagere (*sic*) together with the lordship thereof"[3].

Mariyāne, the senior, the father-in-law of Ballāḷa, was the same who was patronised by Vinayāditya and to whom his queen Keḷaya-dēvi had given in marriage Adekavve, probably her relative. He had evidently married another princess Chāmavve to whom were born the three daughters. The fact that the lordship of Sindigere was granted on Mariyāne the younger, shows that the father-in-law of Ballāḷa had died before the marriage. His genealogy is given below:—

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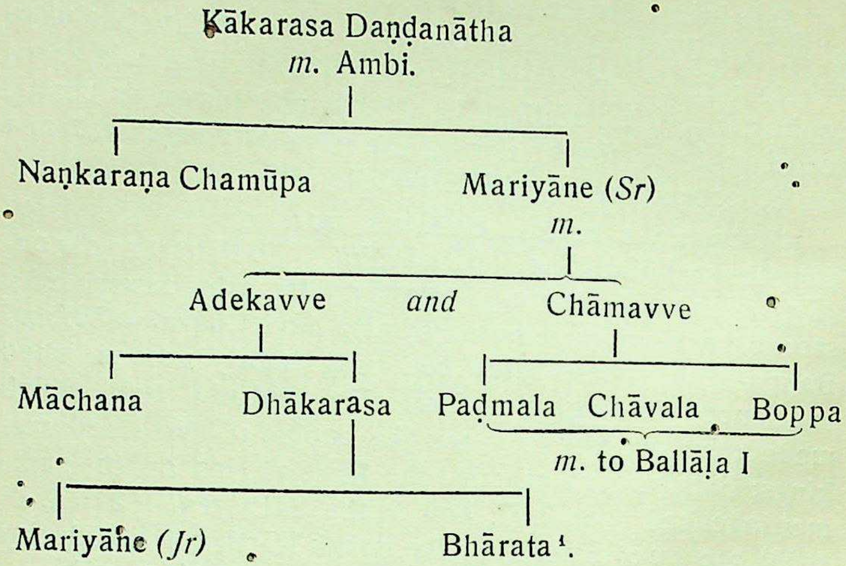
[1] *E. C.*, IV, Kr, 55.
[2] Cf. *I. A.*, VIII, p. 192.
[3] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 330; *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 32.


Kākarasa Daṇḍanātha
m. Ambi.
Naṇkaraṇa Chamūpa
Mariyāne (*Sr*)
m.
Adekavve
and
Chāmavve
Māchana
Dhākarasa
Padmala
Chāvala
Boppa
m. to Ballāḷa I
Mariyāne (*Jr*)
Bhārata[1].

It is interesting to note this unusual incident of marrying three sisters at the same time in the same pendal, which probably stands unique in the history of India that has come to light. We also learn from this romantic episode that the women of the time were advanced both in learning and in fine arts, such as music and dancing. Dancing, which was later considered to be a profession common to the courtesans, was an honourable accomplishment in those days, and even princesses did not consider it below their dignity to dance in public.

We know that the Hoysaḷas from the beginning had embraced Jainism, but Ballāḷa seems to have been partial towards Śaiva religion. At one place he is said to be "the first among the devotees of Śiva"[2]. In an inscription of A. D. 1117 he is said to be devoted to Mahēsa (Śiva)[3]. In 1101 when on a visit to Sosavūr, having seen the Śiva temple erected by Kōba Gauṇḍa in Darvvēyaḥalli, performing the ceremonies to the god Kobēśvara, he erected a manḍapa and made a grant of land "to provide for offerings to the god"[1]. Again in A.D. 1104, when he was leading the expedition against the Changāḷvas, he made a grant to provide for the Monday ceremonies and perpetual lamp of the god Sōmēśvara[2]. Dēvachandra, a poet of a later date, states that Dharmachandra, a Brahman (ದ್ವಿಜನುಂ), was the minister of Ballāḷa[3].

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[1] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 332; *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 32. The table is drawn up mostly with the help of the pedigree given in these two inscriptions.

[2] *M. A. R.*, 1923, p. 35.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 58.

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[1] Ibid., Bl, 199.

[2] Ibid., Hn, 162.

[3] Narasimhacharya, *Karnataka-Kavi-Charite,* I, p.11.

CHAPTER VII

Vishnuvardhana, A. D. 1104 to 1141

Contemporaries

Chalukya Kings:—
- Vikramāditya VI, A.D. 1076-1126.
- Somēśvara III, A. D. 1126-1139.
- Jagadēkamalla II, A. D. 1139-1149.

Chōḷa Kings:—
- Rajēndra Chōḷa II or Kulotunga Chōḷa I, A.D. 1070-1118.
- Vikrama Chōḷa, A. D. 1118-1135.
- Kulotunga Chōḷa II, A. D. 1143.

Kaḷachūrya King:—
- Pērmāḍi, A. D. 1128.

Kadamba Kins of Hāngal:—
- Tailappa II, A. D. 1099-1129.
- Mayūravarma II, A. D. 1131.
- Mallikārjuna, A. D. 1132-1145.

Kadamba King of Goa:—
- Jayakēśi II, A. D. 1119-1125.

Pāṇḍyas of Uchchangi:—
- Irukkavēḷa Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya, A. D. 1101-1124.
- Tribhuvanamalla Rāya Pāṇḍya, A. D. 1124-1128.
- Jagadēkamalla Vīra Pāṇḍya, A. D. 1143-1149.

Changāḷva King:—
- Ānandani, A. D. 1106.

Kongāḷva King:—
- Rājēndra Pṛithuvi Kongāḷva, A.D. 1066-1100.

Śāntara King:—
- Jagadēva, A. D. 1104.

Ganga Kings (Capital Edehalli):—
Ganga Pērmāḍi, A. D. 1076-1113.
Nanniya Ganga, A. D. 1115-1120.

The thirty-seven years' reign of Vishṇuvardhana is packed with glorious military campaigns from start to finish; and though his incessant attempts to overthrow the yoke of Chalukya suzeranity proved a failure, yet he must be given the credit of having raised his territory to the dignity of a kingdom, which was bequeathed to his successors to be further developed into one of the most powerful Empires of the South.

Vishṇuvardhana started his military activities very early in the reign of his brother Ballāḷa I. We have seen in the previous chapter that he took part in subjugating Jagadēva and the Pāṇḍyas. Immediately afterwards, or perhaps in the same year of the conquest of the Śāntara King in A. D. 1104, Ballāḷa died; and Vishṇuvardhana took charge of regal powers. Ballāḷa I had married only a year previous to his death, that is A. D. 1103, and must have left no issue to succeed him. Hence the accession of Vishṇuvardhana to the throne.

The first twelve years of his reign were uneventful and mark a striking contrast with the subsequent period. The successful battles of the time of his brother must have given him confidence of his power and flamed him into passion for aggression over the neighbouring territories This evidently necessitated a stabilization of his kingdom and the training of his army. "First taking into his arms the wealth of the Poysaḷa kingdom which was his inheritance, as his power increased, he brought all the points of the compass under his command and capturing Talakāḍu became the first of the Ganga kingdom"[1]. The fact that he entirely routed the Chōḷas in A. D. 1116, who were one of the greatest powers of the South, and that in the same year he sacked the forts in the Pāṇḍya territory shows the indefatigable energy of his army and reveals that it must have undergone a masterly organization. The year A. D. 1116 also saw the change of Vishṇuvardhana from Jainism to Vaishṇavism. Though his character does not reveal any sign of fanaticism, yet the novelty of his conversion and the zeal for his new faith must have naturally evoked in him an apathy for those who did not embrace his religion. His age-old enemies, the Changāḷvas and the Koṅgāḷvas were still Jainas, and the Chōḷas were intolerant Śaivites; and this difference of religion may perhaps have contributed to his hatred. Mr. Srikantaiya is right in supposing that his zeal for Vaishṇavism after his conversion in A. D. 1116, must have formed an additional force which gave expression to his forward policy[1].

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[1] *E. C.*, **V, Bl, 58.**

We have seen in the previous chapters that the Ganga Empire had long ceased to exist as an individual power, and that its rulership was much disputed among the Chōḷas and the Chalukyas. The latter had continued to appoint the Hoysaḷas as the Governors of Gangavāḍi Ninety-six Thousand. The Chōḷas undoubtedly held sway over one half of it. For two hundred years, from the time when the Chōḷas conquered Talakāḍ down to the time when the Hoysaḷas took possession of it, Gangavāḍi was in a state of anarchy[2]. The Hoysaḷas from the earliest times had claimed this territory as their rightful claim, and hence the first thing that Vishṇuvardhana thought of was to occupy it.

Inscriptions of A. D. 1117 and A. D. 1118 mention Vishṇuvardana's conquest of Talakāḍ. An inscription in Yedatore Taluqua, dated Śaka 1038, the year Durmukhi, gives Vishṇuvardhana the title Talakāḍu-gonda[3]; and an inscription in Chāmrājnagar Taluqua of Śaka 1039, the year Durmukhi, describes him as having the Gangavāḍi Ninety-six Thousand as far as Kongu[4]. The mention of the year Durmukhi in both the inscriptions shows that the former is in Saka 1038 (expired), and the latter in Śaka 1039 (current). Hence it is to be concluded that the capture of Talakāḍ took place in A. D. 1116. The large Hoysaḷa army that marched to Taḷakāḍ was under the able command of Vishṇuvardhana's general Ganga Rāja, and he must have been assisted by other generals such as Punisa and Mariyāne. Idiyama or Adiyama[1], a feudatory of the Chōḷas, was in command of the army at the Talakāḍ fort[2]. So sure was King Vishṇuvardhana of Gaṇga-Rāja's success that he gave him a grant in anticipation of the conquest of Talakāḍ[3]. The description of the battle is best given by quoting an inscription at Śrāvaṇa Beḷgōḷa[4].

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[1] *Q.J.M.S.*, VII, p. 300.

[2] Cf. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, Introd., p. 76.

[3] *E. C.*, IV, Yd, 6.

[4] Ibid., Ch, 83.

"The great minister, daṇṇanāyaka, a mill-stone to traitors, Ganga-Rāja—when Chōḷa's sāmanta Adiyama, stationed as if a door in the camp of Taḷakāḍu, the frontier of Gangavāḍi-nāḍu above the Ghāts, refused to surrender the nāḍu which Chōḷa had given, saying "Fight and take it"—marched (against him) with the desire of victory; and the two armies met. O Ganga-chamūpa, why do we require others in this part of the country for the task of describing the greatness of your prowess? Is not Dāma who, while the destructive point of the sharp sword in your hand raised with the desire of victory was lifting up the skin of his back, fled in the direction of Kañchi enough? O Ganga, unable to expose his body to the turn of your sword once in battle, the Tiguḷa Dāma[3] escaped and took refuge in the forest, and, thinking of it again and again even now, is frightened like the deer day and night to the consternation of his faithful wives. Having remained till now in Taḷakāḍu astonishing people by his valour which put to flight many in any number of battles, the sāmanta Dāmōdara, turning now his back on the fight through great fear of the blows of Ganga-

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[1] He is identified by Hultzsch with the chief of Adigai or Tiruvadi, in Cuddalore Taluqua (*E. I.*, VI, p. 331 n. 7).

[2] *E. C.*, III, Ml, 31.

[3] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 19.

[4] Tamil Chola.

Rāja's sword, lives like a Śaiva ascetic eating from a skull from which a dog will not eat. Marching alone rapidly, taunting and making them lose courage, he thus put them to flight. Moreover he put to flight Narasinga-varma[1] and all the other sāmantas of Chōḷa above the Ghāts and brought the whole nāḍu under the dominion of a single umbrella"[2].

We understand that Adiyama refused to surrender and that after his defeat he fled to Kāñchī (Kanjivaram, near Madras) to report to his King, who was then at his capital and apparently unaware of the attack. This shows that the Chōḷas were not prepared for a fight and were taken by surprise when Ganga Raja's army marched against them,

Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar's suggestion that Kulotunga Chōḷa seems to have acquiesced in the conquest, after his generals Adiyama, Dāmōdara and Narasiṁhavarma were overthrown[3], is not correct; for an inscription of A. D. 1117 informs us that Vishṇuvardhana burnt "the chief city of the Gangas" and "in order that Rājēndra-Chōḷa, disgusted at the water of the Kāvēri suddenly becoming polluted, should be driven to the use of water from wells in the vicinity, Vishṇu, by the power of his arm, threw all the corpses of his army into the stream of the river, and caused his valour to shine forth"[4]. In another place it is said that "the breeze from the Malaya Mountains is occupied in blowing into the nostrils of the skulls of the myriad bodies of the enemies slain by the King Vishṇu in his victorious expedition on the banks of the river Kāvēri"[5]. Again it is said that, assisted by Mariyāne, Vishṇu conquered the Ganga kingdom and burnt Talakāḍ and won the title Bhujabala-Ganga[6]. It is therefore to be supposed that immediately after Ganga-Rāja's conquest over Adiyama, the Chōḷa King marched towards Talakāḍ and on the banks of the Kāvēri was met by Vishṇuvardhana. It must have been the time of the south-west monsoon because it is said that "the Kāvēri, though it swelled, surrounded him (Ganga-Rāja) and pressed forward its waters, did not touch the general Ganga"[1]. The heavy rain was evidently a handicap to the Chōḷa force. To reach Talakāḍ, which is situated on the left side of the Kāvēri they had to cross the river and after their defeat they could not retreat easily on account of the floods and hence the bloody massacre. They were pursued even afterwards, for Ganga-Rāja, we are told, crossed the river, though the miracle of the river having suspended its onward march has to be taken with caution. During this second encounter with the Chōḷas Vishṇuvardhana seems to have also defeated the feudatories of the Chōḷa king, for an inscription in Belūr says: "On his deserting his queens, forsaking his kingdom and dying in the country near Chengiri, he (Vishṇuvardhana) took possession of Narasinga's wives"[2].

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[1] A Pallava chief under the Cholas.

[2] *E. C.*, II, SB, 240 (90). The same account is given in *E.C.*, III, Ml, 31, dated A. D. 1117.

[3] S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 236.

[4] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 58.

[5] Ibid., Bl, 147.

[6] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 262, and Introd, p. 76.

Immediately afterwards he marched to Kolar, another important Ganga capital, which is about a hundred miles from Talakāḍ on the east. An inscription of A. D. 1117 informs us that he was ruling in Talakāḍ and Koḷālapura[3]. Some Ganga scions were then in authority at Kolar under the Chōḷas[4]. Many of the Gangas were Hoysaḷa officers, and the Gangas in general looked upon the Hoysaḷa king for protection. After the conquest of Kolar, the Ganga chiefs who were till then under the Chōḷas paid homage to the Hoysaḷa crown, for we find a short time afterwards that they were the tributaries of the Hoysaḷas ruling Noḷambavāḍi and Nirgunda[5]. The pointed reference to Vishṇuvardhana's residence at Talakāḍ and Koḷālapura shows that his conquest was fully accomplished. By A.D. 1131 the whole of Gangavāḍi paid tribute to Vishṇuvardhana[1].

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[1] *E. C.*, II, *SB*, 73 (59).

[2] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 17.

[3] *E. C.*, IV, Ch, 83.

[4] Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 48.

[5] Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, II, p. 459.

A Tamil inscription on the basement of the Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa temple at Talakāḍ records that Vishṇuvardhana, having rooted out Adiyaman, the Chōḷa Viceroy, took possession of Talakāḍ and set up the god Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa in it in A.D. 1117[2].

The same year he was back again to his capital at Velāpura where he erected the famous Kēśava temple, which was then known as the Vijaya Nārāyaṇa temple[3].

The conquests of Talakāḍ and Kolār were not the only achievements of Vishṇuvardhana in the year A.D. 1116-17. The period when the Hoysaḷa army was elated with these conquests and with the weak resistance of the Chōḷas, was the right time for Vishṇu to inflict blow after blow on the enemy. This displays the military genius of the King. A record of A.D. 1117 runs thus: "Causing the earth to tremble with the tramp of his (Vishṇu's) Kambhōja horse, lord of Gaṇḍagiri, an untimely discus in splitting the great rock Pāṇḍya, bursting the hearts of the Tuḷu kings in the game of war, a Bhairava in destroying the army of Jagadēva, a powerful lion in devouring the fierce elephant Sōmēśvara, displaying his valour before Maṇikya-Dēvi of the Chakrakūṭa throne, skilled with his bow in reducing the pride Adiyama, a gale in overturning the tree Narasiṁhabrahma; gratifying the *yōginis* with draughts of blood out of the skull of Kalapāla (or King Kala), his sword a royal kite to destroy the serpent Cheṅgiri, Rāja of the Malā-rājas, a mighty elephant in breaking through the plantain stems the spears of Irungōla, a Vainya in shaking with his bow the mountain Cheṅgiri Perumāḷa, having set up with his own army Paṭṭi-Perumāḷa, made his own Talakāḍ, having taken the Koṅgu country, having protected Noḷāmbavāḍi, having expanded Nīla-paravata, having extended Koḷālapura, having uprooted Kōvatur, having shaken Teriyūr, having crossed over Vallūr, having unfastened Naṅgalipura, having pulled out the door of the Ghats, having made Kāñchī-pura tremble, champion over the hill chiefs, an intoxicated royal swan sporting in the woods on the banks of the Kāvērī"[1].

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[1] *E.C.*, II, SB, 143 (53).
[2] *M. A. R.*, 1911-12, p. 40.
[3] *E.C.*, V, Bl, 58.

Mr. Fleet however thinks that the conquests of Vallūr and Kāñchī in the extreme east, attributed to Vishṇuvardhana, are either fictitious or hyperbolical, and that his biruda of "Taker of Kāñchī" which we come across so often in the inscriptions, is doubtless based upon nothing but the local defeat of the Chōḷa feudatories Adiyama, Narasiṁha and Dāmōdara[2]. But I suppose that it was more than a hyperbole, for in one place it is specifically said that "after conquering Kānchī and Madura he burnt Jananāthapura'"[3]; while at another place it is said that "he made proclamation of his victories over numerous kings by sound of drum in Kāñchīpura"[4].

One of these kings defeated by Vishṇuvardhana during this campaign was Irungōla I[5], the ruler of the Niḍugal territory. All the chiefs of this line used to style themselves as Chōḷa-mahārājas[6], but they were only mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras and were apparently the feudatories of the Chōḷa kings. Irungōla's kingdom was composed of the Rodda Three Hundred, the Sīre Three Hundred, the Ha[illegible]ave Three Hundred and the Sindavāḍi Thousand. We find Irungōla ruling at his capital Penjeṟu or Henjeṟu (the modern Hēmāvati) in A.D. 1128[7]. Hence we may conclude that though he suffered defeat at the hands of Vishṇuvardhana, yet his position was very little affected for he remained ruling his own territory, as subordinate to the Hoysaḷa king.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties* p. 492.

[3] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 331.

[4] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 160.

[5] Ibid., Ng, 70; V, Bl, 58.

[6] Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 163.

[7] *E. C.*, XII, Si, 7.

We therefore see that he and his generals carried their arms through the whole of Mysore, Coorg and Kanara and even to the eastern coast in the course of two years. Vishṇuvardhana had skirmishes even with his over-lord.

During his southern expeditions Vishṇuvardhana was mostly residing at Talakāḍ and Koḷālapura, as an inscription of A.D. 1117 informs us[1]. The same year he was back at Vēlāpura[2]. In A. D. 1119 we find him again at Talakāḍ[3].

The expedition further south and west was headed by Vishṇu's general Punisa. An inscription of A. D. 1117 tells us that he had "frightened the Toda[4], driven the Koṅgas underground, slaughtered the Pōluvâs, put to death the Maḷeyāḷas, terrified king Kāla and entering into the Nīla mountain offered up its peak to the Lakshmī of victory. On the Poysaḷa king once giving the order, he seized Nīlādri and pursuing the Maḷeyālas, and capturing their forces he became the master of Kērala and then again he showed himself in the Plain country"[5].

The Koṅga territory here mentioned also called Vīra Sōla Maṇḍalam comprises the Salem and Coimbatur Districts. Though in about A.D. 1117 the general Punisa is said to have defeated the Koṅgas, the actual subjugation took place much later, in about A. D. 1135. The second victory over the Koṅgas and other southern kings was won by Vishṇuvardhana's general Biṭṭiyanna. He was sent by the King to bring tribute from Koṅgu. An inscription at Belūr dated A.D. 1136 runs: " 'Among the titled Mārāyas who is there like you in the world? Bring quickly tribute from Koṅgu'.—On the King thus ordering, in half a *paksha* he put to flight Cheṅgiri, burnt his city, plundered his territory, took an astonishing amount of tribute and brought it in with a troop of lusty elephants,—Vishṇu-daṇḍādhinātha. 'This boy will take Koṅgu, will he not? He will bring in the troop of elephants, will he not? with his golden smile'. While even the powerful were thus speaking in alarm, he fought the hostile kings, put them to flight, subdued Koṅga so that the earth raised an outcry, and by the power of his arm brought the troop of elephants to his ruler and pleased him with his great attachment"[2]. To confirm this victory over the Chōḷas we may refer to an inscription of Vishṇuvardhana dated A. D. 1140 in Nelamangala Taluqua, Bangalore District[2], while the same place was under the Chōḷas in A. D. 1120 apparently governed by a Ganga chief[3]. This shows that the present Bangalore District had been originally conquered by the Chōḷas, but was now taken possession of by the Hoysaḷas[4]. While general Biṭṭiyaṇṇa was thus engaged with the Koṅgas, the King himself was, as the same inscription informs us, on the sea-shore burning Rāyarāya-pura and threatening the Chēra, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Pallava kings. The general seems to have finished his expedition to the south in half a month and joined his master in this main campaign[5].

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[1] *E. C.*, IV, Ch, 83.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 58.

[3] *E. C.*, IV, Kr, 31.

[4] The Todas are an aboriginal tribe of the Nilagiris, probably mentioned for the first time in history. Cf. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, VII, Toda.

[5] *E. C.*, IV, Ch, 83.

This campaign wan principally directed against the rebellious Chōḷas. An inscription of A. D. 1128 in the Hoskote Taluqua reveals a battle in Nigari-i-Śōḷa maṇḍalam between the Chōḷas and the Hoysaḷas, when the city of Śōḷa-māra-Śiṅgatūr was destroyed[6]. At the end of this campaign Vishṇuvardhana erected a pillar of victory in Koṅga and from his residence at Koppam in Talakāḍ he granted lands to commemorate the event. The śāsana recording this incident is found in the Kamaṭhēśvara temple, at Nandi in Chik-Ballapur Taluqua, Kolar District. It was drawn up

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 17.
[2] *E. C.*, IX, Nl, 84.
[3] Ibid., Nl, 88.
[4] Cf. Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, II, p. 17.
[5] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 17.
[6] *E. C.*, IX, Hs, 18.

apparently by a Chōḷa chief, for the inscription says that "Karikāma, *alias* Rājarāja, *alias* Vāḷava rāja, terrible to titled kings, having drawn up and shewn the śāsana to Pōśāḷa-Dēvar, *alias* Viṭṭi-Araśan signed it"[1]. It is interesting to note that Tamil was recognised as the State language in Kolar by the Hoysaḷas.

About the same time Ganga Rāja's son Boppa-dēva is said to have put to flight the Koṅgas "who were thorns to the country"[2], meaning that they carried raids in the Hoysaḷa country. These Koṅgas apparently belonged to the Nīlagiris, but their final subjugation was effected only during Ballāḷa II's reign[3]. An inscription of 1142 probably referring to the same conquest informs us that Bamma Gāvuṇḍa's son, ruler of Nirugunda-nāḍ laid siege to Kūḷkulla fort, above Nīlagiri, burnt it and died[4]. Vishṇuvardhana built a city there to commemorate his victory and perhaps to mark the limit of his southern conquest[5].

Vishṇuvardhana's military activities of A. D. 1116 included the subjugation on the west of the Changāḷvas, Kongāḷvas and the Tuḷu country. The Changāḷvas were, as mentioned in connection with Ballāḷa I, the feudatories of the Chōḷas. After their expulsion from Mysore, they naturally attempted to be independent of the new power of the Hoysaḷas. The peculiar geographical position of their territory in the hills and across the mountains gave them facilities for defence, and hence we find them a source of constant trouble even during Narasiṁha I and Ballāḷa II.

Soon after Vishṇuvardhana defeated the Changāḷvas in A. D. 1116, they again set about rallying forces and uniting with the hill chiefs to fight out their independence. Vishṇuvardhana again declared war upon them in about A. D. 1124; and his general Bōki meeting his forces with those of Balla-

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[1] *E. C.*, X, CB, 17.
[2] *E. C.*, II, SB, 384 (144).
[3] *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 303.
[4] *E. C.*, IV, Ch, 20.
[5] *Q. J. M. S.*, VI, p. 303.

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Veggade marched upon the hill chiefs. Balla-Veggade displayed great valour and died in battle. "Springing upon the cavalry force of the enemy which was opposing them, (he) smote and pierced them, scattered the cavalry force to all sides, and attacking the elephant of Changāḷva which was confronting him, by the blows of his arms causing wounds for Java (Yama) to prevail, treading upon the enemy like cummin seed till disgust arose, and uniting to himself both the goddess of fame and the goddess of valour, he gained the world of gods"[1]. The territories gained for the Hoysaḷa crown in this battle were, a later inscription informs us, the Tuḷu country, the Changāḷa territory, Bayalnāḍ, and the Konga kingdom[2]. An inscription of A. D. 1130 says that Vishṇuvardhana was a submarine fire to the Changāḷvas[3]. This may only refer to the former battle, in A. D. 1124. From this time we might suppose that the Changāḷvas acknowledged the suzerainty of the Hoysaḷas, because we find that in A. D. 1139 the Changāḷva king's *purāṇika*, Janārddana-baṭṭa, accepted a grant from Vishṇuvardhana for his temple at Ananti[4].

The Kongāḷva kingdom, which also fell under the sway of the Hoysāḷa power, was a creation of the Chōḷas in A. D. 1004, a boon bestowed on Manija by Rājarāja for defeating the Changāḷvas[5]. Their territory included the Arkalgūḍ Taluqua of Mysore and the Yēḷusāvira or Seven Thousand country in the north Coorg[6], which was also called the Kongāḷnāḍ. The ruler of the time of Vishṇuvardhana was the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vīra Kongāḷva Dēva, the disciple of Prabhāchandra-Sidhānta-dēva[7]. They always proved themselves to be faithful feudatories of the Chōḷas, and hence their kingdom was a powerful Chōḷa stronghold on the west. It was a member of this line that defeated Nṛipa-Kama in the battle of Maṇṇi on behalf of the Choḷas [1].

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 178.
[2] Ibid., Hn, 69.
[3] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 137.
[4] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 199.
[5] *E. C.*, I, Cg, 46.
[6] Ibid., Introd., p. 17.
[7] *M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 33.

Kongaḷva Kings with Choḷa prenomens continued down to A. D. 1115. In fact Mr. Rice's opinion that the Kongāḷvas disappear on the expulsion of the Chōḷas by the Hoysāḷas [2], has been modified by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar on the authority of subsequent epigraphs, which record the existence of Kongāḷvas down to A. D. 1177, when they had skirmishes with Ballāḷa II [3]. It is therefore to be supposed that Vishṇuvardhana did not deprive them of all power.

There are several references to Vishṇuvardhana's conquest of Tuḷuva or South Kanara [4]. As already noted it was the general Bōki that conquered the Tuḷu country together with Bayalnāḍ and the Changāḷva and Kongāḷva countries [5]. The Tuḷu country had evidently allied with the Changāḷvas and other hill chiefs to oust Vishṇuvardhana, for we are told that Bōkaṇa marched againts the hill chiefs who were backed by the Changāḷva king [6]. The Tuḷu country was sometimes called the Āḷuvakhēḍa after its rulers the Āḷupas or Āḷuvas, who orininally came from the north-east of Banavasi [7]. The earliest tussle with the Āḷuvas took place in A.D. 1114 "when Seṭṭi Gāvuṇḍa, (a general of Vishṇuvardhana), who—on the Āḷuvakhēḍa people taking prisoners in the Thousand—in front of Jayisiṅgādu, had fought in a battle with daggers and conquered, and coming, was holding the office of gāvuṇḍa in Karividi-Hirūr; the Halikāṛa Nāyakas of Sīre-nāḍ, coming and according to the custom of their (ancestors?) harrying the cows, by the might of his arm fighting them, he slew many, recovered the cows and gained the world of gods"[1]. Sīre-nāḍ was in the possession of the Irungōla chiefs who being the neighbours of the Āḷuvas must have come to their aid. From this time they must have been preparing themselves for a retaliation. The climax came in A.D. 1124 when they were defeated by general Bōki.

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[1] Cf. above p. 26.
[2] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 145.
[3] *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 32.
[4] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 215; *M. E. R.*, 1915, p. 14.
[5] *E.C.*, V, Hn, 69.
[6] Ibid., Bl, 178.
[7] Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p.137.

Another important acquisition of Vishṇuvardhana in his 1116 expedition was the Malayāḷa country or Kēraḷa. This was carried out by general Punisa when he was marching against the hill chiefs of the Nīlagiris, where he is said to have put to death the Malayāḷas and become the master of Kēraḷa[2]. We are told that in A.D. 1117 Vishṇuvardhana destroyed the pride of the Chōḷa. Pāṇḍya and Kērala kings, and slew the Āndhra king[3]. In another inscription we are informed that Punisa conquered the Nīlagiris and Malabar for his master[4].

Probably when proceeding to Kēraḷa the Hoysaḷas had a clash with the people of Mālaya, or of the Ghauts, as recorded in an inscription dated A. D. 1115 in the Mūḍugeṟe Taluqua. It states that Biṭṭidēva's daṇḍanāyaka "Bēgipayya destroyed the lands of Balimāra Kammainahaḷḷi, which belonged to the children of Māchakka, younger sister of Hemmāḍi. On which Hoysaḷa's feudatory Mālaya rose against the Mahārāja and attacked him;" and that Biṭṭidēva, Śantāla-dēvi and his generals halting at Mulur fort, somebody "went to the world of gods"[5]. The inscription is very obscure and much effaced. I suppose the term 'Hoysaḷa's feudatory' refers to Hemmāḍi and not to Mālaya. The place Muḷur or Muḷḷur where the King halted is about ten miles from Arkalgūḍ and lies on the boundary line of Kongal-nāḍ. The Mālayas referred to must have really threatened the Hoysaḷas, because Vishṇuvardhana had to march all the way from Dōrasamudra to Muḷḷur at least a year before he attacked Taḷakāḍ.

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[1] *E.C.*, XII, Tp, 81.

[2] *E. C.*, IV, Ch, 83.

[3] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 213.

[4] *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 53.

[5] *E. C.*, VI, Mg, 31.

The second attack of Vishṇuvardhana against the Southern principalities, subsequent to that of Punisamayya, took place in about A. D. 1123 when he marched along the banks of the Kāvēri[1]. "Why is the south wind delayed? Why has it not set in yet. Because the breeze from Mālaya is impeded by blowing into the nostrils of the myriad skulls of his enemies slain in King Vishṇu's expedition along the banks of the Kāvēri"[2]. It was there that he heard of the death of his brother Udayāditya. The same inscription informs us that his southern boundary was Kongu, Chēram and Anamale (Salem, Coimbatur and Travancore). Later in A. D. 1136 we find that on Malehas raiding the village of Marale, in Chikkamagalur Taluqua, and stripping the women, the heroic Bamma killed many and entered the world of gods[3]. In A. D. 1123 Vishṇuvardhana conquered the fortress of Baḷeyapaṭṭaṇa[4], which was perhaps the capital of the branch of the Raṭṭas[5].

Another important achievement of Vishṇuvardhana is his march into the Chakrakūta kingdom even as early as A. D. 1116. "He was a powerful lion in devouring the fierce elephant Somēśvara displaying his valour before Mānikyadēvi of the Chakrakūta throne"[6]. "With the sharpness of his sword he terrified Sōmēśvara, the lord of the mighty celebrated Chakrakoṭṭa"[7]. This Chakrakoṭṭa kingdom has now been satisfactorily located. Mr. Hiralal has identified it with the province contiguous to Vēṅgī and situated in the present Bastar State[8]. He arrived at this conclusion from the fact that it had been conquered by Vijayāditya of the Eastern Chalukya line, and later by the Chōḷa King Vīrarājēndra I, who claims to have crossed the Godavari, passed the Kalinga and advanced against Chakrakoṭṭa[1]. Therefore it is interesting to note that Vishṇuvardhana after having successes in Vallur and Kāñchī marched northwards on the west coast and conquered the Chakrakoṭṭa kingdom. His northern march is referred to in a Belūr inscription: "Turning in the direction of the Gangas (Vishṇuvardhana) slew the kings of the northern countries"[2].

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 102.
[2] Ibid., Hn, 53.
[3] *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 53.
[4] *E. C.*, II, SB, 132 (56).
[5] *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 49.
[6] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 58.
[7] *E. C.*, VI, Mg, 22.
[8] *E. I.*, IX, p. 179.

Great as all these campaigns of Vishṇuvardhana were, none was of such great importance as that directed against the suzerein Chalukyas and their faithful feudatories. The Chalukya Emperor had long been watching the growing power of the Hoysaḷas with concern. As early as A.D. 1104 the Emperor had sent Jagadēva to thwart the Hoysaḷa progress, but his attempt proved a failure. Vishṇuvardhana could have been a powerful support to his overlord had he been a friend, but as an enemy he was dangerous. Though nominally a feudatory he could vie with Vikramāditya VI, the greatest among the western Chalukya monarchs, in wealth as well as in military power. The latter had nearly completed his long reign of glory. In A. D. 1116 he had already been forty years on the throne and was now fast tottering to his grave. Whereas Vishṇuvardhana was in the prime of manhood, full of vigour and ambition.

Vishṇuvardhana was a tactful soldier. He knew that in his old age Vikramāditya's hope rested in his faithful feudatories, the Kadambas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Ganga chieftains. These Vishṇuvardhana would attack first. We have seen that in the reign of Ballāḷa I the Gangas had gradually regained power under the patronage of the Chalukyas and that they were appointed as governors of Gangavāḍi with the seat of government at Edehaḷḷi. In A.D. 1120. Vishṇuvardhana's general Boppaṇa attacked the Ganga King Naniya and a battle was fought at Halasūr[3]. In A. D. 1125 the Ganga chief Pērmmāḍi suffered another defeat[1], probably under the Hoysaḷas. By this time the Gangas seem to have been completely subjugated and in the time of Narasiṁha I we see them again as faithful feudatories of the Hoysaḷas.

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[1] *S. I. I.*, III, p. 70.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 17.

[3] *E.C.*, VII, Sh, 12.

The Pāṇḍyas, who were originally ruling over Hayve, one of the seven Koṅkaṇas, with their capital at Sisugal, were subsequently defeated by the Chalukya prince Jayasiṁha and became identified with Uchchangi (a celebrated hill-fort on the northern border of Mysore in the south-west of Bellary District), which became the seat of Government for the Nolambavāḍi Thirty-two Thousand (Chitaldroog District)[2]. The King who suffered defeat at the hands of the Hoysāḷas in A.D. 1116 was Tribhuvanamalla-Pāṇḍya Irukkavēla who was ruling the Nolambavāḍi province under the Chalukya King[3], and was said to be "the rod in Tribhuvanamalla's right hand"[4].

The Pāṇḍyas were the political successors of the Pallavas in Nolambavāḍi, and this King was called the younger brother of Vīra-Noḷamba-Pallava-Pērmanānḍi-dēva[5], meaning the Chalukaya prince Jayasiṁha. The battle between the Hoysaḷas and the Pāṇḍyas took place at Duṃṃe, which Mr. Rice identifies with a hill on the Shimoga and Chitaldroog boundaries[6]. In A. D. 1116, perhaps immediately after the conquest of Talakāḍ, Vishṇuvardhana marched towards Uchchangi and met at Duṃṃe the troop of elephants and force of cavalry of the Pāṇḍyas[7]. Vishṇuvardhana was assisted by Chāma-dēva, who was born in the Hejjaji Twelve of the Kadanur Seventy to the Oda-Rajēndra (Orissa King) Chōḷa-Ganga Mahipāla. He was apparently a general under Vihsṇuvardhana. An inscription of A. D. 1149 informs us that such was his valour that while Biṭṭi-dēva was looking on, he assaulted Uchchangi[1]. He was, as the same epigraph informs us, the subordinate of the Huliyera chief, who was in turn a feudatory of Vishṇuvardhana. We are further told that the Pāṇḍya King being angry came tramping to Emmeganūr and set out his array. While King Vishṇu was looking on Samanta Chatta, the Huliyera chief drove the horse and elephant forces extended by the enemy, and capturing a great elephant, brought and gave it to his ruler[2]. Perhaps this mêlée was in connection with the battle at Duṃme. Another side-fray was undertaken by Māchaṇṇa, who collecting a large force, set forth and destroyed the village of Jālahaḷḷi[3]. Here Vishṇu is said to have killed Pāṇḍya. 'On Pāṇḍya flourishing his sword, Hoysaḷēśa cut him down with his own sword and left only half a man to look on in the Tigula's army"[4]. In an epigraph lately discovered we are told that general Boppa dried up the sea, the huge army of the Pāṇḍya king with his sword[5]. Boppa, who was the son of Ganga Ṛajā, had not entered into military activity as early as A. D. 1116, and therefore I am led to believe that the battle referred to here must be subsequent to that of Duṃme

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[1] Ibid., Sh, 56.
[2] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 149.
[3] *E. C.*, VII, Ci, 33.
[4] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 90.
[5] *E. C.* XI, Dg, 155.
[6] *E. C.*, VI, Introd., p. 15.
[7] Ibid., Cm, 99.

After this conquest Vishṇuvardhana assumed the title of Noḷambavāḍi-Gonda, made Ucchangi one of his royal cities and in A. D. 1137 we find him residing there[6]. In A. D. 1141 his boundaries include the Noḷambavāḍi Thirty-two Thousand[7]. But his conquest of Noḷambavāḍi was temporary and his grandson had to do it over again. The battle of Duṃme seems to have been only an indirect hit on the Chalukya Emperor, for the Pāṇḍya kings of the time were the powerful supporters of the Chalukya Emperors, and hence a defeat of the former would evidently lead to the disruption of the Chalukya Empire.

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[1] *E. C.*, XII, Ck, 29.
[2] Ibid., Ck, 35.
[3] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 99.
[4] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 171.
[5] *M. A. R.*, 1925, p. 40.
[6] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 14.
[7] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 102.

In A. D. 1120, after the conquest of Kāñchī and Madura, Vishṇuvardhana is said to have burnt Jananāthapura of the Pallavas, which was an important Jaina centre situated near Śrāvaṇa Belgoḷa[1].

A little later the Chalukya King Jagadēkamalla overthrew the Pallavas. It is not known whether this common enemy brought Vishṇuvardhana near his suzerain. We are however told by an inscription of about the same time that "he was a help to Somēśvara" (the Chalukya King).[2] About the same time in A. D. 1135 we are aware of Bammāla-dēvi, the Pattamahādēvi of Vishṇuvardhana who was of the Pallava Kula[3], while his Piriya-arasi Rājāla-dēvi belonged to the Chaḷukya Vaṃśa[4].

During the onslaught of Vishṇuvardhana in the northern territories of Bañavasi and Hāngal, Tailapa II was ruling the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, the Hāngal Five Hundred and the Sāntalige Thousand as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI[5]. His encounter with the Hoysaḷas took place in about A. D. 1123, after which he was constantly engaged in battles. An inscription of A. D. 1117 gives the northern boundary of Vishṇuvardhana's territories as Sāvimale[6], which Mr. Rice dentifies with Savanur in Dharwar District[7]. This might be only an anticipation of the Hoysaḷa conquests in the North, but I believe that Vishṇuvardhana had already made himself felt in Dharwar after his successful battle at Uchchangi. Mr. Srikantaiya includes the subjugation of Lokkigundi (Lakkundi) among Vishṇuvardhana's achievements of A.D. 1116[8]. But I would put it to a much later date. In A.D. 1125 Vishṇuvardhana is found "putting down the evil and upholding the good as far north as Herddore" (river Kṛishṇa)[1]. Therefore by that time he had marched further north from Savimale, and the subjugation of Hāngal and Savimale must have taken place during that period. Vishṇuvardhana's march of conquests is graphically described in an inscription of the time of Nārasiṃha I. "The lion of the Hoysaḷa King's valour, having sported in plunder at Talakāḍ, attacked the lofty elephant Uchchaṅgi, calmly marched by Bānavase, with daring seized Beḷvala, and sprang forward with joy to the Perddore unshaken, planting his foot at Hāṅgal, thus striking fear into hostile kings"[2]. In A. D. 1130 Vishṇuvardhana was at Baṅkapura ruling the kingdom, and had taken for himself the revenue of all the chiefs[3]. From that time he was mostly at Baṅkāpura, which he had made his northern strong-hold. An inscription of A. D. 1138 tells us that he had made Baṅkāpura on one side and Taḷavanapura on the other as royal cities[4]. The intermediate capitals were Dōrasamudra and Yādavapura (the modern Tonur near Śriraṇgapatam). It is from this place that he marched to Hāngal in A. D. 1132[5]. His conquest of Banavasi is given as follows: "Destroying root and branch Masaṇa, who was a torment to the country, he wrote down Banavasi Twelve Thousand in his Kaḍita (account book)"[6]. Masaṇa was a general of the Kadambas and was ruling Tagare. His son had died in the fierce battle at Baṅkāpura between the Hoysaḷas and the Kadambas[7]. Later we find that Masaṇa was again defending the Hāṅgal fort during the final attack of Vishṇuvardhana in A.D. 1139[8]. From there he tried to consolidate his northern territories after leaving the South in the hands of his faithful feudatories. It was a time of strife for him, constantly warding off the blows of the enemy. In A.D. 1133 he was found plundering Hāṅgal and was helped by his general Bōkana. Under him the warrior Kalloma destroyed the army in Kōdahaḷḷi and died[1]. By that time Tailappa had died, Mayūravarma III had also completed his reign and now Mallikārjuna was ruling Banavasi and Hāṅgal[2]. Vishṇuvardhana is said to have taken "Pānuṅgal in half a second with a simple flip of his finger"[3]. The Hāṅgal fort was guarded by the Kadamba general Masaṇa[4]. The fort was conquered and Masaṇa killed[5]. An inscription which has lately been discovered, describes graphically an incident from this battle, "On his (Vishṇuvardhana's) beseiging the fort of Hānuṅgal, Dēva, the Rakkasa warrior of Bidirur, attacked the troops of elephants and horses, but finding the supply of arrows exhausted, he applied to Dēvaṇṇa, and being favoured with his quiver, marched again to the battle, killed many and attained the world of gods"[6]. In A.D. 1139 Vishṇuvardhana was again laying seige to Hāṅgal under whom Jukki-Setti raided Hiriya Magavadi and Babbe Setti's younger brother carried off cows and "loosed the waists of women"[7]. The same battle is further described in an inscription of Belūr. Vishṇuvardhana "setting out on an expedition of conquest crossed over the Tuṅgabhadrā marched to Banavase-nāḍ and in Dhanur-māsa of the Śaka year 1060, the year Kāḷayukti, laying seige to the fort of Hānuṅgal was fighting"[8]. The hero of the day was one Lenkarāya, who begged the King for orders to place him in front of the battle and "while Poysaḷa was looking on, he mounted an elephant, descended into the fort of Hānuṅgal, and slaughtered the enemy's force of elephants and horses". After that Hānuṅgal came the undisputed possession of Vishṇuvardhana, for in A. D. 1140 we find him with his Queen Bammala-dēvi residing there[1]. The same year Vishṇuvardhana had returned to Baṅkāpura. His absence was taken advantage of by the Kadambas of Goa, for in 1140 "when Vīra Ganga Hoysaḷa Dēva was in Baṅkāpura, ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom:— a dweller at his lotus feet Duddeya-Sāhani, when Jayakēśi's horse drove off the cows of Hānuṅgal-nāḍ, faught, captured the horse, recovered the cows and gained the world of gods"[2]. The same year, perhaps immediately after this action, the King returned to Dōrasamudra[3].

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[1] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions,* p. 331.
[2] *M. A. R.*, 1925. p. 49.
[3] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 3.
[4] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 96.
[5] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 562.
[6] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 58.
[7] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, Introd., p. 84.
[8] *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 301.

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 53.
[2] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 69.
[3] *E. C.*, IV, Kp, 78.
[4] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 144.
[5] *M. A. R.*, 1926, p. 52.
[6] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 17.
[7] *M. A. R.*, 1926, p. 45.
[8] Ibid., 1916, p. 52.

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[1] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 71.

[2] Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 562; Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, pp. 126-132.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 17.

[4] *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 52.

[5] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 124.

[6] *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 53.

[7] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 414.

[8] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 202.

At this time the powerful monarch Jayakēśi II was the Kadamba ruler of Goa and an important feudatory of the Chalukya Emperor. He too, like the Hoysaḷas, was attempting to acquire independence and was defeated by the Chalukya general Āchugi II. After this event he was reconciled to his over-lord and became his son-in-law in about the year 1125[4]. Vishṇuvardhana invaded his territory at the time when he conquered Hānuṅgal and Banavasi. By A. D. 1139 he had under him Beḷuvala and Halasige, territories that formerly had belonged to Jayakēśi[5]. "He pursued after Jayakēśi and gained possession of Palasige Twelve-Thousand and...Five Hundred"[6]. He is said to be "a Mākāḷi in pursuing and eating up Lāḷa (Koṅkaṇa)"[7]; "he was like the forest fire to the Kadamba heroes and a gale to the cloud which was Jayakēśi"[8]. But Jayakēśi's power seems to have been least shaken. He too was trying to expand his kingdom; and the continuous efforts of Vishṇuvardhana to possess the Hānuṅgal fort must have brought him in bitter conflict with Jayakēśi. Even after his final conquest of the fort Jayakēśi raided cows there. Yet the fact that he took advantage of Vishṇuvardhana's absence shows his inability to stand battles with him.

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[1] *E. C.*, XII, Gb, 13.
[2] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 122.
[3] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 58.
[4] Cf. Moraes, o. c., pp. 191-192.
[5] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 80.
[6] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 17.
[7] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 104.
[8] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 496.

By now Vishṇuvardhana was in Baṅkāpura to consolidate his northern territories: Noḷambavāḍi, Banavasi, Hānuṅgal, Santalige, Beḷuvala, Huligere, and Halasige. In A.D. 1140 we find that "Dannāyaka Ra...Myya (were) looking after the Banavase and Noḷambavāḍi customs" [1]. But at this time the Hānuṅgal Kadambas also, as we saw, claimed the possession of Hānuṅgal and Banavasi. Most probably the Hoysaḷas and Kadambas had arrived at a treaty by which they shared the territory between themselves. The object of Vishṇuvardhana was to march still further, for inscriptions generally claim that he ruled as far as Perddore. He is said to have washed his horse in the Kṛishṇa,[2] which clearly presupposes his conquests up to that limit.

Towards the end of his reign Vishṇuvardhana seems to have encountered some Turukas, for "Bitti of Kolevūr, the faithful servant of Balla-veggaḍe, a sword in the hand of Poysaḷa-Dēva, slew many Turukas and died" [3]. We are not aware of any Muhammadan power ruling at that time in southern India. But many Arab merchants were trading on the western coast, and it may be supposed that while the Hoysaḷas conquered the Kadambas of Goa in the Koṅkaṇ, they encountered the Turukas there.

The direct attack of Vishṇuvardhana on the Chalukyas marks a long and strenuous effort from the beginning of his reign to the end. Early in A. D. 1116-1117 when Ganga Rāja was busy attacking the Chōḷas, Vikramāditya had watched the progress of the Hoysaḷas with diffidence and sent a large army to conquer them; but the Chalukya army was utterly defeated by Ganga Rāja. "When the army of the Chalukya Emperor Tribhuvanamalla-Pērmāḍi-Dēva, including twelve Sāmantas (or tributary chiefs), was encamped at Kaṇṇegāl (near Hassan), this Ganga Rāja, saying: 'Away with the desire to mount a horse; this will be a night battle for me,' attacked and defeated with ease all the Sāmantas, so that the people said that the sword in the hand of Gangadaṇḍādhipa caused the men of the army who were entering the camp to enter the mire, carried off the collection of their stores and vehicles and presented them to his lord"[1].

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[1] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 348.
[2] *I. A.*, II, p. 301.
[3] *E. C.*, VI, Mg, 3.

An inscription in the Bellary District mentions Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bērma Dēvarasa and Tribhuvanamalla. The former was styled as a thunderbolt to the strong hill fortresses of the Hoysaḷas[2]. Most probably he was one of the chiefs who encountered Ganga Rāja. In the same year A. D. 1117, probably after the battle, Vishṇuvardhana was on his way to Kadunāḍu of Hemmadi Rāya of Kutika (Chalukya Vikramāditya) when he made a vow to the goddess[3]. The visit might be for a treaty.

This conquest had elated Vishṇuvardhana and he began to prepare a large expedition against his suzerein in the year A. D. 1122. At this time he had returned to his capital and began to organize his kingdom and to strengthen his army[4]. His nobles used to urge him the invincibility of Pērmāḍidēva, the Chalukya King, and the necessity of caution and courage[5]. But Vishṇu was resolute and marched into the Chalukya territories. He was met by Āchugi II of the Sinda dynasty who was a devout adherent of the Chalukya Emperors, and was ruling in the Dharwar District. "At the command of the universal emperor Vikrama, he a very lion in war, pursued and prevailed against Poysaḷa"[6]. Vishṇuvardhana displayed great valour in the army.

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[1] *E. C.*, II, SB, 73 (59).
[2] Rangacharya, *Topographical List*, I, p. 291.
[3] *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 35.
[4] *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 302.
[5] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, p. 322.
[6] Ibid., XI, p. 244.

His invincibility is evidenced from the statement: "Know the Hoysaḷa alone among (all) princes to be unconquerable for King Paramaridēva"[1]. Vikramāditya's successor, realising the power of Vishṇuvardhana, probably made a truce and ceded a portion of his territory to him[2].

In A. D. 1126 Vikramāditya VI died and was succeeded by Somēśvara on the Chalukya throne. The new Emperor was not so able as his glorious predecessor and was constantly in fear of the Hoysaḷas. Vishṇuvardhana took this opportunity and started his campaigns to the North in the Kadamba territories[3]. Yet the inscriptions of this time invariably call him the 'Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara', and present him as "dwelling at the lotus feet of the Chalukya King". In A. D. 1139 Jagadēkamalla II succeeded Somēśvara as the King of the Chalukyas. Vishṇuvardhana took this opportunity again to overthrow his yoke of feudatorship. He was fast approaching his old age, yet he rallied round all his forces to make a decisive attack. During that time he was mostly at Baṅkāpura, and most probably he now and then visited Dōrasamudra to organise his army. It was in about A. D. 1140 that he marched with large forces against the Chalukya Emperor. But the latter was not unprepared. His army was under the able command of the Sinda chief Pērmāḍi, the son of Āchugi II. Pērmāḍi "seized upon the royal power of Poysaḷa, who was the foremost of fierce rulers of the earth, and acquired the reputation of being himself proof against all reverses. Going to the mountain-passes of the marauder Biṭṭiga, plundering him, beseiging Dhōrasamudra, and pursuing him till he arrived at, and took the city of Bēlapura, King Pērma, of great glory, driving him before him with the help of his sword, arriving at the mountain-pass of Vāhaḍi, and overcoming all obstacles, acquired celebrity in the world. Pursuing and seizing in war the friends, (mighty) as elephants (though they were), of the Kings who joined King Biṭṭiga in the work of slaughter, (Pērmāḍi) unequalled in his great impetuosity brought them (back as captives) with derisive cheers"[1]. Such is the graphic account of the Sinda records that commemorate the colosal victory of Pērmāḍi over the Hoysaḷa ruler. This was the final blow on Vishṇuvardhana's ambition which he did not survive long. Soon after this defeat he went to Baṅkāpura. But he was fast losing hold on the northern provinces; and they went entirely out of Hoysaḷa control during the time of his son. He died at Baṅkāpura in the year A. D. 1141[2], from where the body was brought by Boppa-ḍēva Daṇṇāyaka to Mūḍugeṟe[3].

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[1] *E. I.*, VI, 91.

[2] *Q. J. M. S.*, II, p. 118,

[3] Moraes, o. c. p. 124.

During his reign he assumed a large number of titles many of whom were handed down to posterity. Immediately after his first expedition he obtained the titles Talakāḍu-goṇḍa and Noḷambavāḍi-goṇḍa, which appear in the inscriptions of the time. They were also written in the gold coins some of which have been discovered in the Hole-Narsipur Taluqua[4]. Bhujabala-Vīra-Gaṅga was another title. "The mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla, capturer of Talakāḍu, Bhujabala-Vīra-Gaṅga-Vishṇuvardhana Poysaḷa-Dēva"[5], which he acquired after burning the Gaṅga city[6]. "Bhujabala" became a surname of the Hoysaḷa kings after him. His other titles were: Shri Kāmbi-goṇḍa Vikrama Ganga[7]; Pratāpa-Hoysaḷa Bitti Dēva[8], Rāja mārttaṇḍa,[9] Vīra Vishṇu Tribhuvaṇamalla[10],

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[1] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XI, pp. 244-245. Cf. Ibid., p. 270.

[2] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 95.

[3] Ibid. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 101, says that his body was conveyed to Sosavur. Perhaps it is only a surmise of the author, based on the fact that the inscription, Cm, 96, was found at Havalli in Chikkamagalur Taluqua.

[4] *M. A. R.*, 1921-13, p. 25.

[5] *E. C.*, II, SB, 132 (56).

[6] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 58.

[7] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 232.

[8] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 58.

[9] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 227.

[10] Rangacharya, *Topographical List*, I, p. 277.

Vīra Ganga Vijaya Vijayāditya Hoysaḷa[1], Vīra Ganga Vijaya Narayana[2], Tolagada-goṇḍa[3] meaning unshakable hero, a play upon the word Talakāḍ-goṇḍa. Ṣahasa Gaṅga-Hoysaḷa[4]. An inscription in Shimoga Taluqua attributes to him all the Ganga titles (Satyavākya, Konguḷivarmma, etc.), and represents him as having descended from the line of Rakkasa Ganga, Bhujabala Ganga, Vīra Ganga, and Nanniya Ganga[5]. Rakkasa Ganga, it will be remembered, was a title of Vinayāditya. Vishṇuvardhana was originally called Bitti-dēva or Bittiga, but after his conversion he was named as Vishṇuvardhana, by which name he was known by the later generations. In the Prakrit form he was called Vinnunadda[6].

His personal qualifications were praised by the poets of the day:—"Of pleasing conversation, Bhārata in skilful discourse on all modes of music, ever given to investigations in logic, a critic in prosody and all branches of the science of language, of great skill in poetry, perfect in the various modes of royal policy, in the sight of the people of a beautiful form, characterised by purity and all good qualities, skilled in training Kāmbhōja horses"[7]. He was perfect in fine arts, dancing and music[8]. He was called an eleventh incarnation[9]. With regard to his valour it was said that he was fired by the valour of Saṁvira kings (kings of Rajputana)[10]. He was renouned as an administrator. It was said that he was born to uproot the evil-minded in order to stop injustice in the Kali age[11]. His generosity was so great, many of his later inscriptions inform us, that he gave his own country in charity and ruled the foreign country.

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 36.
[2] Ibid., p. 35.
[3] Ibid., 1913-14, p.43.
[4] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 32.
[5] *E. C.*, VII, Sh, 87.
[6] *E. C.*, IV, Hs, 143.
[7] *E. C.*, III, Sr, 49.
[8] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 216.
[9] Narasimhachar, *Kesava Temple at Belur*, p. 21.
[10] Rice, o.c., p. 262.
[11] *E. C.*, XII, Kg, 1.

Reviewing all his achievements one is dazzled by the gallaxy of conquests he made. He plundered Aśvapati Gajapathi[1], Chōḷa, Kērala, Pāṇḍya, Pallava, Kalpala (of Nīlagiri) Mālawa, Chakrakoṭṭa. He conquered Naṅgali (east of Mulbagal Taluqua), Koṅgu (Salem and Coimbatore Districts), Siṅgamale (in North Arcot District), Rāyapuram Talakāḍu (on the Kāvēri), Rodda (in the Northern Pennar, west of Penukoṇḍa), Bengiri (Veṅgi), Kollagiri (Kolhāpūr), Ballare (Belary), Vallurū (in Kaḍapa District), Uchchaṅgi (in the southwest of Bellary District), Virāṭa's city (Hānuṅgal), Polalu (Holalu in Bellary District), Baṅkāpura (in Dharwar), Banavasi (in North Kanara), Kōyatūr (Coimbatore), Nīlādri lower ghat, and seven hills (Nīlagiris), Kāñchī (Conjevaram), Tulava (South Kanara), Rājēndrapura, Kōlāḷa (Kolar) Bayalu-nāḍ (Waināḍ), Halasige (in Dharwar), Beluvala (Dharwar and Belgaum Districts), Huligere (Lakshmēśvara in the Miraj State), Lokkigundi (in Dharwar District).[2] His province was bounded by the Kṛishṇa on the north and the Ocean on three sides, mounds being raised to mark his permanent limits[3]. These vast conquests were however not easy to retain. The subdued kings were always waiting for a chance to free themselves. In the North he was hemmed in by the Kadambas and the Sindas. In the South the Chaṅgāḷvas and hill chiefs were carrying on petty raids and became a constant source of trouble to the Hoysaḷas. Besides his rule did not earn him loyalty from the newly conquered territories. A Sinda inscription, evidently coming from the enemy says that Vishṇuvardhana "had ruled with severity over the countries of Cheṅgiri, Chēra, Chōḷa, Malaya, Maḷeyel, Tuḷu, Kolla, and Pallava, the city of Koṅguṇa, and the countries of Banavāse and Kaḍambaḷe and Hayve"[4]. Hence his attempt at consolidating his Empire became futile, and his grandson had to start a fresh campaign to reconquer it.

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[1] These are mere exaggerations of his conquests.

[2] *E.C.*, III, Introd., p. 16.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 220.

[4] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XI, p. 270.

Inspite of his shortcomings he has been raised by modern historians as the greatest of all Hoysaḷa kings[1]. He is called the founder of Hoysaḷa greatness[2]. Though he was not able to assume independence, he greatly weakened the power of the Chalukyas and made the way easy for his successors. By the time of his death he had acquired many territories of his suzerein and obtained the title, "Plunderer of the Mahārāja's whole wealth"[3].

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[1] Banerji, *History of India*, p. 179; *Q. J. M. S.*, II, p. 217.

[2] *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 474.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 13.

CHAPTER VIII

The Court of Vishnuvardhana

Vishṇuvardhana acquired a large territory, and assumed the dignity of a first rate ruler; but such a vast State evidently needed a powerful organization to keep it in harmony and peace. The duty of a Hindu king, according to ancient precepts, is to rule not for his own glory but for the peace of his subjects; "for putting down the evil and upholding the good" (ದುಷ್ಟನಿಗ್ರಾಹ ಶಿಷ್ಟಪ್ರತಿಪಾಲನ). This was the motto of the Hoysaḷa kings. But Vishṇuvardhana's was a peculiar position. During the whole period of his reign he was engrossed in military campaigns and the absorption of the conquered territories into his Empire. For these purposes he was residing at various places such as Talakāḍ, Yādava-pura and Baṇkāpura. Hence we see that his kingdom was split up into various territories, each under the control of a Daṇṇanāyaka, or a scion of an ancient ruling line, or even his Queen.

This brings us in touch with a large number of feudatories and generals who took part in the welfare of Vishṇuvardhana's kingdom.

The highest family that had connections even with the royal line was that of Mariyāne. His ancestor, the senior Mariyāne, had given his three daughters in marriage to Ballāḷa I in A. D. 1103. On him was conferred the territory of

Sindigere for wet nursing, as a renewal of the grant given by Echāla-Dēvi, the Queen of Eṛeyanga, when she gave Adekavve, probably her relative, in marriage to him[1].

Mariyāne and his brother Bhārata, on account of their connection with the royal family, were considered to be of the "line of the capturer of Kāñchī, Vikrama-Ganga Vishṇuvardhana-dēva"; and were in office as Sarvādhikaris, treasurers of the jewels, judges, chief advisers and commanders of the life guard. Looking upon Mariyāne as his *paṭṭadānē* (State elephant), King Vishṇu appointed him as the commander of his army[2]. The Sarvādhikari, it should be understood, was the prime minister and was at the head of the Cabinet of five ministers at the Hoysaḷa Court[3]. In this case the two brothers Mariyāne and Bhārata occupied that honoured post together, since "they were one in thought"[4]. As the commander of the army Mariyāne assisted the King in the capture of Talakāḍ[5]. They belonged to a Jaina family, their guru Bhāratēśvara being Maghanaṇḍi Bratipati. Both the brothers survived Vishṇuvardhana and were the important ministers and counsellors of Narasiṁha I. An inscription in Chikkamagalur Taluqua informs us that Bhārata married the daughter of "Mārāya", which word Mr. Rice mistakes for "Mahārāya", and accordingly wrongly concludes that he was the son-in-law of Vishṇuvardhana[6]. Mārāya was a Mahā-Sāmanta, who is said to have defeated many Kings[7].

More famous than these was the general Biṭṭiyana or Vishṇu Dandādipa, the son of Mariyāne. We have seen that Vishṇuvardhana had sent him in A. D. 1136 to collect tribute from Koṅgu after which he returned back victorious carrying with him the spoils of war.

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[1] The full geneology of Mariyane is given in the chapter on Ballala I, pp. 65-66.

[2] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 32; Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 332.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 260.

[4] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 332.

[5] Ibid.

[6] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 160.

[7] Ibid., Introd., p. 16.

[8] *E. C.*, XII, Cb, 34.

From his childhood general Biṭṭiyana was a favourite of the King. We are told that at his birth the ministers Mariyāne and Bhārata gave him the name of Biṭṭiyana; and while the King was at Dōrasamudra, they presented a gift of 1000 *honnu* at his feet and obtained from him under his own hand, Śindigere in Āsandi-nāḍ with Begavalli, for butter for his (the child's) mouth and the lordship of Dindinakere in Kalikavi-nāḍ[1].

From his childhood the young Biṭṭiyana seems to have shown the characteristics of a genius, and the King was particularly partial towards him, probably even making him his foster son. For an inscription of A. D. 1136 says: "Vishṇuvardhana treating him like a son, himself had his *upanayana* performed with great festivities. And after seven or eight years of age, when he had become proficient in all the science of arms, obtaining for him a virgin-jewel, the daughter of his own chief minister distinguished by all auspicious marks and well-born, that Vishṇuvardhana Dēva himself lifted a golden *kālasa*, and pouring water on his hand, gave away the virgin thus providing him with a marriage of unimagined happiness. At the age of ten or eleven, having become as sharp as *kusa* grass in intelligence, and perfect in the four tests of characters, Vishṇuvardhana noting this and praising him with his own hand invested him with the title of Mahā-prachanda-daṇḍanātha, with double confidence, and giving him all authority, he became the Sarvādhikari and the benefactor of all the people. . .the Immaḍi daṇḍanāyaka"[2].

Immediately after his return from the expedition to Kongu he built the Vishṇuvardhana-Jinalaya, to which the King seems to have given grants[3].

Ganga Rāja was another general of Vishṇuvardhana, who by dint of his military prowess assumed perhaps the highest rank at the Hoysaḷa Court. We have seen that he achieved a glorious conquest in the battle of Hānuṅgal in A. D. 1116, when Vikramāditya VI had sent a large army under his feudatories to subjugate the Hoysaḷas. Ganga Rāja then presented to Vishṇuvardhana the stores and vehicles of those captured in battle. The King being pleased with his prowess, said: "I am pleased; ask for a boon"; whereupon Ganga Rāja asked for, and obtained from the King the village Parama and granted it to the Jaina temples erected by his mother Pōchala-dēvi and his wife Laxmi[1]. He had taken, as we know, the most prominent part in the expedition of A. D. 1116. The conquest of Talakāḍ and other Chōḷa territories such as Koṇgu and Chengiri have been ascribed to him. After he had routed and driven away the Chōḷas from the fort, and had "brought the whole nāḍu under the dominion of a single umbrella, the King offered him a boon." Though Ganga Rāja knew that the King would give him anything he asked, he only asked him the land Gōvinda-vāḍi and granted it to the god Gommaṭēśvara[2]. This reward was promised to him by the King even before he started for the conquest of Talakāḍ[3].

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[1] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 32. The grant of Sindigere was first given by Vinayaditya and then renewed by Ballala I. The presenting of 1000 *honnu* must evidently be the annual tribute.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 17.

[3] Ibid.

If Ganga Rāja was great with respect to his military conquests, he was greater for his fervour towards Jaina religion. We have seen that he transferred both the rewards which the King had given him as religious endowments. He renovated all the Jaina temples of Gangavāḍi; he had the enclosure built around the Gommata-dēva of Gangavāḍi having driven out the Tigulas[4]. The Gangavāḍi country was once upon a time strewed with beautiful Jaina edifices by the Gangas especially by Ganga Rāja's fore-father, Chāmunda Rāya[5]; but after the invasion of the Chōḷas, who were a clan of fanatic Śaivas, the edifices were pulled down, and it was Ganga Rāja together with his faithful wife Laxmi-dēvi who, "by restoring innumerable ruined Jaina temples in all places to their former condition and by making liberal gifts to the most worthy, converted the Gangavāḍi ninety-six thousand into Koppaṇa"[1]. It was the double object of reconquering his ancestor's lost territory, and of renovating the basadis which were unjustly ruined by the Chōḷas, that prompted Ganga Rāja to march against the Chōḷas.

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[1] *E. C.*, II, SB, 73, 125.

[2] Ibid., 240 (90).

[3] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 19.

[4] *E. C.*, II, SB, 73 (59).

[5] Ibid., 345 (137).

So great did he become in the Jaina circles that he was called the second great champion of Jainism[2], the first being Chāmuṇda Rāya. Among the great many edifices he had raised, are Indirā Kuḷagṛiha[3], now known as Śāsana-basadi the enclosure round Gommatēśvara[4], and the Kattale-basadi for his mother Pōchavve[5]. He also raised epitaphs for his mother Pōchikabbe, his wife Laxmi and his guru Subhachandra, who had died respectively in A. D. 1120, 1121 and 1123[6]. His wife raised the Eradukatte and set up an epitaph for her sister who died in A. D. 1120[7] and for her brother Bāchi Raja who died in A. D. 1113[8].

From the inscriptions, we find that Subhachandra played an important part in the family of Ganga Rāja, who was his disciple. His wife Laxmi-dēvi and his sister Demati were the lady disciples of the guru.

The devotion and fervour of Ganga Rāja for the Jaina faith won him great regard from the people and he was considered by them as a saint. They said that even the Kāvēri flood did not touch him when crossing the river[9].

Ganga Rāja was born in a family that were from time immemorial the upholders of the Jaina faith. It was one of those few families that supported the tottering religion for a time from its inevitable grave. Ganga Rāja descended from Ēchi Rāja who was greatly patronised by Nṛipa Kāma. The geneology of the Ganga family is as follows [1]:—

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[1] Ibid., 127 (47). Koppana or Kopal is in the south-west of the Nizam's Dominions and is considered as a holy place by the Jainas.

[2] Ibid., 345 (137).

[3] Ibid., 74 (65).

[4] Ibid., 177 (76).

[5] Ibid., 70 (64).

[6] Ibid., 118 (44), 128 (48), 117 (43).

[7] Ibid., 130 (63), 129 (49).

[8] Ibid., 126 (46).

[9] Ibid., 73 (59).

Nāgavarma of the Kauṇḍinya Gōtra.
|
Māra m. Mākanabbe.
|
Ēcha Budhamitra (patronised by Nṛipa Kāma)
m. Pōchikabbe.

Bamma m. Bāggaṇabbe. | Name not known. m. Jakkimavve. | Ganga Rāja m. Nāgala-dēvi & Laxmi-dēvi.
Ēcha m. Ēchikabbe. | Boppa. | Boppa *alias* Ēcha.

There was inter-relationship between Ganga Rāja's family and Mariyāne's family. Ganga Rāja was the brother-in-law of the senior Mariyāne, and the two brothers, junior Mariyāne and Bhārata, were the brothers-in-law of Ganga's son Bhārata.

Ganga Rāja's brother Bamma-dēva and his wife Bāggaṇabbe are also greatly praised for their charitable disposition. Their son Ēcha raised "Jaina temples in Kopaṇa and other holy places and in Beḷguḷa, of great celebrity, which people said, captivated with their richly sculptured walls the hearts of the spectators" [2]. Another sister-in-law of Ganga Rāja Jakkimavve was equally a great Jaina enthusiast. She caused many Jaina images to be built as well as a tank which is known as Jakki Katta [3]. In A.D. 1120, Ganga Rāja's mother, the wife of the famous Ēchi Rāja of Nṛipa Kāma's time, died perhaps at a ripe old age, by the performance of the rite of *Sallēkhanā.* It is wonderful that a woman of such an advanced age could have died in rigorous asceticism. "Adopting *sanyasana*, observing the rule of lying on one side only, uttering the five salutations she went to the world of gods. Having amassed endless merit and spread her fame throughout the world, so that her attendants and learned men being fully satisfied, always blessed her, and having caused to be erected numerous Jaina temples at Beḷgoḷa and many other places.... triumphing over the effects of being a house-holder and a woman and of the present times easily took possession of the world of gods by the perfection of the rite of *Sallēkhanā*"[1].

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[1] Ibid., Introd., p. 55.
[2] *E.C.*, II, SB, 384 (144).
[3] Ibid., 367, 368, 400.

Inspite of the disparity in religion the friendship between Vishṇuvardhana and Ganga Rāja was unalloyed. He gave a vast number of rewards and donations and encouraged him to renovate the ruined temples of Gangavāḍi. In return Ganga Rāja offered his faithful service to the Hoysaḷa kings. Whatever territories he conquered he gave them over to his King. He considered that to live in treachery to a lord was a *Naraka* (hell)[2]. Under Vishṇuvardhana he obtained the highest rank of a general and a minister as can be inferred from his titles: "Obtainer of the band of five great instruments, Mahā-sāmantādhipati, Mahā-prachanda-daṇḍāṇāyaka"[3].

Ganga Rāja died in A. D. 1133, when the King was at Baṇkāpura and had just slain the Kadamba general Masana in the battle at Hānuṅgal. His son Boppa then erected a Jaina temple of rare beauty at Dōrasamudra to his memory, naming it Drōhagaratta Jinalaya, after one of his father's titles, and having it consecrated by Nāyakirti. The priests then took the consecrated food to Vishṇuvardhana at Baṇkāpura; which he received with great favour and ascribed his victory and the birth of his son Narasiṁha to the favour of their god and accordingly besides granting them endowments gave to the god the name Vijaya Parsara[4]. The temple is to this day known as Pārśvanātha Basadi.

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[1] Ibid., SB, 118 (44).
[2] *E.C.*, V, Bl, 124.
[3] *E. C.*, II, SB, 118 (44).
[4] Ibid.

Bappa or Ēcha, as he was sometimes called, was the son of Ganga Rāja by his wife Nāgala-dēvi. Like his father he was a faithful servant of the King and became a great general. We have seen with what glorious success Bappadēva carried the Hoysaḷa arms to the mountainous Nīlagiris and subdued the tribes. He was an able support of his King towards the latter part of his reign and had the titles of his father to his credit[1]. He was also a great Jaina devotee and erected many basadis of great splendour. Besides the Pārśvanātha Basadi he built another called the Santēśvara Basadi at Kambadahalli at the same time, and in A. D. 1138 he built the Trailōkyaranjana Jīnālaya also called the Boppana-Chaityālaya[2]. In A. D. 1135 he raised an epitaph in memory of his elder brother (cousin) the general Ēchi Rāja, as an act of reverence.[3]

Another great general and minister of Vishṇuvardhana that figures as a prominent person in the government of the country is the general Puṇisamaya or Huṇisamaya. We have seen that he had carried a victorious expedition to the Nīlagiris and had defeated the hill tribes such as the Todavars. He had also carried his arms to the Maleyāḷa and utterly defeated them. He was a Jaina and a devout desciple of Ajita-Munipati, and "in the manner of the Gangas he decorated the basadis of the Gangavāḍi Ninety-six-thousand"[4]. The Pārśvanātha-basadi of Chamrajanagar and a ruined temple at Bastihalli owe their existence to him[5]. His charitable disposition is described in this manner: "The ruined trader, the cultivator with no seed to sow, the ousted Kīrata (chief) with no power left who had become his servant, he gave them all what they had lost and supported them"[6].

Bōkkaṇa, another general of Vishṇuvardhana, figured in the battles with the hill tribes, and subjugated the Changāḷvas, the Kongālvas and the Tuḷus. He was the son of Babimayya or Babbaya a great minister looking after the customs[1]. He subsequently became an important person in the court of Narasiṁha I and held the posts of great minister, general, and senior master of the robes[2].

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[1] *E. C.*, II, SB, 384 (144).
[2] Ibid., 120 (66).
[3] Ibid., 384 (144).
[4] *E. C.*, IV, Ch, 83.
[5] *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 53.
[6] *E. C.*, IV, Ch, 83.

Besides these important generals there were a large number of others of minor importance. Rāyaṇa daṇḍanātha was a nobleman of Vishṇuvardhana's court. He claimed royal blood, having descended from Chāmunda Rāja. In A.D. 1130 he created an *agrahāra* in Dēvaḷige-nāḍ and erected the god Kēśava there, the King having lavishly given grants for the purpose[3]. Koneya-Śaṇkara-Daṇḍanātha was another Vaishṇava patriot, who built Vishṇu temples in Araṇimale, Koraṭi, Kōḷāla, Areyaṭṭi-Bāgalatti, Kuṇaṅgil, Tāmarecharu, Halasūr and Kāntapura and an *agrahāra* in Nirgundanāḍ. He survived Vishṇuvardhana and continued to be a general under his son. He is said to have successfully encountered the Maleyāḷas[4]. Then there was the general Kedhālta Nāyaka who was also a Vaishṇava[5]. Maṇisamaya daṇḍanāyaka was another servant of Vishṇuvardhana. He was a Jaina and a great minister and continued to serve under Narasiṁha I[6]. The warrior Chinna was also a servant of Vishṇuvardhana, and was the governor of the Manikike Twelve[7].

Minister Mādi Rāja was the accountant of Vishṇuvardhana's Court. By his power of elocution he seems to have made a great impression in the assembly. He was a great Jaina patriot[8]. Binnande was the governor of Mudugere. In A. D. 1138 he set up a linga in the Gangēśvara temple in memory of his parents[9] Échaṇṇa daṇḍanāyaka was a minister of Vishṇuvardhana and he received from him the chieftainship of Nānalakeṟe [1]. Minister Bamma Gauḍa was the governor of the Taḷige-nāḍ Thousand [2]. Sarigeya Nāyaka was also a minister, under whom Nāraṇa-Veggade was the customs officer [3]. The great minister Babimaya of Binnigere was the customs officer. Under him Rāmayya was looking after the customs of Nolambavāḍi and Banavasi. His province was subdivided into various small districts; one of such districts, the Nāgarkhaṇḍa Seventy was under Sunka-vergaḍe (the Heggaḍe of customs) Dēvapayya Nāyaka [4].

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1914-15, p. 52; *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 348.
[2] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 69.
[3] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 137.
[4] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 65.
[5] *E. C.*, IV, Kp, 78.
[6] Ibid., Kp, 37.
[7] *M. A. R.*, 1914-15, p. 50.
[8] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 100.
[9] Ibid., Ng, 65.

There was another branch of subordinates to the king who, though not serving him directly were helpful to him in the time of war. They represent the modern zamindars and petty chiefs, paying annual tribute to the king, and having a hereditary claim to their property. But many of them were created by the king himself from motives of diplomacy. Thus we see that as soon as he conquered the old Ganga territory, now represented by Kolar and Mulbagal, he appointed Ganga Princes of the ancient line to rule the province [5].

One of such rulers was the Mahā-Sāmantha, entitled to the band of five chief instruments, boon lord of Mānyakhēḍa-pura, sun of the Adaḷas, the Maṟugare-nāḍ ruler Guḷi-Bachi. He has in his pedigree a long line of Ganga princes who were ruling that province [6]. Mānyakhēḍa-pura has been identified by Mr. Rice with Malkhed, the Rāshtrakūṭa capital in the Nizam's Dominions [7]. He was a very liberal minded man patronising all the four creeds of Buddha, Jaina, Śaiva, and Vaishnava. "He adorned Kaydāḷa with temples to Ganēśvara, Nārāyaṇa, Chalavarivēśvara, in the name of his grandfather, Ganēśvara in the name of his father and Ramēśvara in

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[1] Ibid., Ng, 28.
[2] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 100.
[3] *M. A. R.*, 1914-15, p. 50.
[4] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 348.
[5] *E. C.*, X, Introd., p. 12.
[6] *E. C.*, XII, Tm, 9.
[7] Ibid., Introd., p. 9.

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the name of his daughter, besides Jaina basadis in memory of his wife. He also constructed the big Bhīma-samudra and Adaḷasamudra tanks"[1], while his Senabova constructed the Mārasamudra tank.

There was another important line of Ganga chiefs ruling Asandi-nāḍ. They had the high sounding titles of their fore-fathers: Konguḷivarma-Dharma-Mahārājādhirāja, boon lord of Kōḷālapura, etc. They had continued to be the feudatories of the Hoysaḷas from the time of Ereyanga. The rulers of the time of Vishṇuvardhana were Barmmarasa (A. D. 1130) and Vaijarasa (A. D. 1141)[2]. While a part of Nolambavadi and Nirgunda, west of Hosadurga, were ruled by the Kongas as the tributaries of Vishṇuvardhana[3].

Similarly we find many Chōḷa chiefs and governors ruling in Salem and Coimbatore Districts, which then comprised the Kongu country or the Vikrama-Śōḷa Maṇḍalam. In A. D. 1116 we find Viruṇta-rāya-Bayaṅkara Alvan ruling Maṇṇai-nādu in Vikrama-Śōḷa Maṇḍalam[4]. It is probable that Vishṇuvardhana had defeated him, but soon after restored him to his position as a Hoysaḷa feudatory. In A.D. 1128 we find Gaṇḍa-Māṇikka Bramādirājan ruling Kaivāra-nāḍ as a feudatory of Vishṇuvardhana. In A. D. 1135 we find a feudatory by the name of Karikāma *alias* Vaḷava Rāja under the same King[5]. Vishṇuvardhana entered into an agreement with him to redeem certain villages which were a dēvadhāna of the god Tiru-Nandēśvaram-uḍaiya Mahādēvar and which evidently Vishṇuvardhana had absorbed within his territory during his conquests over the Chōḷas. We notice that even the language of the inscriptions is Tamil, which continued to be the State language of the Chōḷa country under the Hoysaḷas. The retention of Chōḷa principalities and the continuation of Tamil as the State language indicate Vishṇuvardhana's conciliatory attitude. The granting of self-government to these newly conquered people and hence the political leniency shown towards them evidently won their affection for the crown. Vishṇuvardhana incurred little trouble from those quarters till the end of his reign.

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[1] *E. C.*, XII, Introd., p. 9.
[2] *E. C.*, VI, Tk, 60-66.
[3] Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, II, p. 459.
[4] *E. C.*, IX, DB, 11.
[5] *E. C.*, X, CB, 17.

Among the feudatories under Vishṇuvardhana was Huliyeṟa Chaṭṭa, who though a Sāmantha at the beginning soon acquired first rate importance especially in the time of Narasiṁha I. The principality ruled by Chaṭṭa at the beginning comprised only the Huḷiyeṟa Twelve [1]. But on account of the help given by him to the King during the seige of Uchchangi, he soon rose to power. He had sent his general Chāma-dēva, the son of Oḍa Rāyēndra (or Orissa king) to the battle. Another general of his, Heggaḍe Gētana, seems to have conquered many battles for the King and hence he had received a badge of honour and a head-piece for his elephant, together with the rent free estate of Mattavūru [2]. Towards the end of Vishṇuvardhana's reign the Huliyeṟa chiefs acquired great power having under them the Magure-nāḍ Three Hundred with Huḷiyeṟa as the capital [3].

A small territory in Banavasi-nāḍ was ruled by the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Ekkalarasa-dēva, of the Ganga family, under whom the dandādhipati Singaṇa was a governor. Singaṇa died in A.D. 1129 [4]. In A. D. 1139 Ekkalarasa residing at Udhare his capital was apparently involved in a raid in Santalige Thousand. He died in A. D. 1204 during the reign of Ballāḷa II, "by means of the tomb". This important Ganga principality continued till the end of the Hoysaḷa period and then came under the Vijayanagara Kings [5].

An inscription in Channarayapatna Taluqua reveals another important feudatory of Vishṇuvardhana. He was

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[1] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 32 and 34.
[2] Ibid., Kd, 34.
[3] *E. C.*, XII, Ch, 29.
[4] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 149.
[5] Ibid., Sb, 147, 148, 149.

Bācharasa entitled to the five big drums, Chalukya ornament, glory to the Chalukya Kula, sun to the lotus of the Chalukya Kula. From his titles we understand that he was a scion of the Chalukya family. He was a devotee of Iśvara and gave a tank as a permanent resting place for ascetics [1].

We find a host of other chieftains scatterd throughout the Hoysaḷa Empire. There was the Mahā-Sāmanta Māraya who was a great warrior of the King. His office of Mahā-Sāmanta was hereditary [2]. Sāmanta Nāgaṇṇa, a Vaishnava [3]. Sāmanta Sōma of Kalakani-nāḍ, a Jaina patriot that caused many edifices to be built [4]. On the death of his son Māru-dēva his wife went "to *swarga* with him" [5]. Mahā-Sāmanta Māchayaṇṇa was ruling Arakeṟe, Kāḷiguṇḍa, Beḷuvaḷi, Karividi, Hinchanūr, Mannambāṟu, Karaḍihāḷu, Aḷāriguppe, Kundūr, Bāla-samudra, Iḍagūr, Paṭaṇa, and Beḷugeṟe. He was learned in logic, grammar and the scriptures, and he was a Śaiva by faith. He was succeeded by Mahā-Sāmanta Gaṇḍarāditya [6]. In A. D. 1130 Mahā-Sāmanta Siṅgarasa was residing at Arasiyakeṟe. But the same year he was given Kalikatte in Magare Three Hundred to govern, where he was asked to remove. He seems to have descended from a line of important feudatories under the Noḷamba Kings [7].

The family of Vishṇuvardhana forms an interesting part of his history. He had probably many wives, among whom have come to light the Senior Śāntalā-dēvi, the Junior Śāntala-dēvi, Bammala-dēvi, Rājāḷa-dēvi, Laxmi-dēvi, and Dēvaki-dēvi; and his children Kumāra Ballāḷa and Harialabbarasi by the senior Śāntala-dēvi, and Vijaya Narasiṁha by Laxmi-dēvi. An inscription of A. D. 1120 informs us that he made a grant to a temple erected by his *avvi* (mother or grand-mother) Talevala-dēvi on the death of her brother.

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 169.
[2] *E. C.*, XII, Gb, 34.
[3] *E. C.*, VII, Ci, 60.
[4] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 94.
[5] Ibid., Ng, 96.
[6] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 101, 104.
[7] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 41, 45.

It is not known when the King married his first wife Śāntala-dēvi; but the inscriptions mention her name as far back as A. D. 1116. It is to be supposed that he had married her shortly after his coronation or even before. An inscription of A. D. 1120 informs us that she assumed the crown with the permission of the King [1]. She is said to have sprung from the city of Balipura [2]. She did not come from a royal family, her father Mārasingayya being only a Pergade. Her mother was Māchikabbe whose geneology is as follows [3]:—

General Nāgavarma
m. Chandikabbe
|
General Baladēva
m. Bāchikabbe
|
Māchikabbe
m. Pergaḍe Mārasingayya
|
Śāntala-dēvi

Pergaḍe Singimayya
m. Śirīyādēvi.

Mārasingayya was a Śaiva [4], but his wife Māchikabbe was a devout Jaina, and so was Śāntala-dēvi. Though Vishṇuvardhana became a Vaishnavite in about A. D. 1117, Śāntala remained a devout Jaina till the end of her life and patronised her faith to a great extent. In A. D. 1123 she erected the Savati gandhavāraṇa basadi at Beḷgoḷa in order to provide for the worship and gifts of food to the assembly of ascetics, together with a grant free of all imposts [5]. She was the crowned consort of the King, but her relationship with the co-wives was not happy, since she was said to be "a rutting elephant to ill-mannered co-wives". She was an expert in singing, instrumental music and dancing, and very generous in the destribution of food, shelter, medicine and learning [1].

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 16.

[2] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 264.

[3] *E. C.*, II, SB, 143 (53).

[4] Ibid., Introd., p. 56.

[5] Ibid., 132 (56).

The praises of the Queen in Vaishnava inscriptions bespeak her cosmopolitan mind. In A. D. 1121 she was present when the King gave grants to the Jayagoṇḍēśvara temple [2]. She is even said to have received a boon from Dharmmēś-vara, and to have erected the Rāmēśvara temple of Iśāpura [3].

In A. D. 1131 Sāntala-Dēvi died at Śivagaṅga and in her memory the Sāntēśvara basadi was built there [4]. The same year both her father and her mother died by the Jaina rites of *samādhi.* The death of the mother is graphically described: " 'The queen has attained the state of the gods, I cannot remain (behind)', thus saying her mother the proficient Mā-chikabbe came to Beḷugoḷa, and adopting the severe *sanyāsana*, she too renounced the world. The half closed eyes, the repetition of the five expressions, the method of meditating on the Jinēndra, the dignity in taking leave of relatives, evidencing *sanyāsa*, Māchikabbe, fasting cheerfully for one month, easily attained the state of the gods by *samādhi*, in the presence of all the blessed" [5].

An inscription of A. D. 1129 informs us that Vishṇuvardhana's "eldest son" Śrimat Tribhuvanamalla Kumāra Ballāḷa-Dēva, was ruling the world, and that his "eldest younger sister" (ಬಲ್ಲಾಳದೇವನಗ್ರಾನುಜೆ) was Hariyabbarasi who was married to the lord of Singa. "Eldest" indicates that Hariyabbarasi was not the only daughter of the king [6]. Probably Kumāra Ballāḷa died before the birth of Narasiṁha I in A. D. 1133, who was crowned from the day of his birth. Hariyabbarasi, we are told, was the upholder of Jaina religion and had erected at Hantiyūr in Kodangi-nāḍ a lofty *Chaityālaya*, with the *gōpuras* surmounted by rounded pinnacles set up with all manner of jewels[1]. Her husband Singa was probably the Mahāsāmanta Singarasa who was ruling Arasiyakere and who belonged to the Noḷamba family[2].

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[1] Ibid.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 260.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 58.

[4] *E. C.*, II, SB, 143 (53); *M. A. R.*, 1914-15, p. 13.

[5] *E. C.*, II, SB, 143 (53).

[6] *E. C.*, VI, Mg, 22.

An inscription in Hassan Taluqua brings to light another Queen of the name of Śāntala, who was the daughter of Kēteya-Nāyaka and Jakkiyabbe. "She by her beauty attracted the King, as the daughter of the milk ocean (Laxmi) attracted Purushōttama (Vishṇu), and obtaining his regard, had a lovely daughter Chikka-Śāntale." In A. D. 1135 when she was ruling the kingdom she and her child expired. Jakkiyabbe in memory of her daughter and grand-daughter set up a Śiva temple at Elegunda in Niragunda-nāḍ, and the King gave liberal donations to the same[3].

Dēvaki-dēvi was another Queen of Vishṇuvardhana who assumed the crown as Queen in A. D. 1140[4]. But no details are available regarding her.

The most important of all queens of Vishṇuvardhana was Bammala-dēvi, who took part in public life. She came from the Pallava-kula and was the daughter of King Gōvinda and Chāvundabbarasi[5]. Soon after the death of Śāntala-Dēvi she became the crowned Queen[6]. From A. D. 1136 she became an important helpmate of the King in the administration of the country. In A. D. 1136 and 1138 she was governing Āsandi Five Hundred and Nirgunda Three Hundred, and under her the great feudatory, the Nāḷ-prabhu Eraka-Gāvuṇḍa was ruling Kisur and Hāruvanahaḷḷi[7]. In A. D. 1140 she was ruling, by kindness of the King, "the Kingdom of the world", and was the senior Queen and crowned consort, "glorious with the pomp and insignia of the royal Queen, the

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[1] Ibid.
[2] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 41, 45.
[3] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 89.
[4] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 79.
[5] *E. C.*, XII, Gb, 13.
[6] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 3.
[7] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 32, 124.

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white conch, lofty umbrella, golden rod and multitude of chamaras". She was then residing at Hāngal[1]. It was just after Vishṇuvardhana's final capture of the Hānuṅgal fort in A. D. 1139, that he resided with his Queen there. The same year, we know, the fort was attacked by Jayakēśi II's soldiers, but they were promptly repulsed.

An inscription of the same date in Arasiyakere Taluqua informs us that Bammala-dēvi had a crown riding school, of which Anantapāla was the *śāhani* or trainer[2]. This shows her keen interest in horsemanship and cavalry.

She was a zealous follower of the Hindu faith and under her patronage many temples were built. In A. D. 1135 she with the permission of the King gave grants for the repairs and maintenance of the Śankara-Narayaṇa temple in Nāgamaṅgala[3]. In A.D. 1140 together with her husband she created the Brahmapura Agrahāra in Nirgunda-nāḍ[4].

In A. D. 1141 another Queen, Rājāḷa-dēvi, received the rank of senior Queen of Vishṇuvardhana. She was the sister (or cousin) of Bammala-dēvi. Her uncle was the maṇḍalika Mañchi-arasa, the governor of the district attached to Harijaladhi. He is said to have been "an ornament to the Chalukya-vaṃśa"[5].

Laxmi-dēvi or Lakuma-dēvi, another Queen of Vishṇuvardhana, should be given importance only for the reason that she gave the King an heir to the throne. She was a contemporary of Śāntala-dēvi and does not seem to have been a favourite of the King, being only a junior Queen. Śāntala-dēvi was a "rutting elephant to ill-mannered co-wives", Laxmi-dēvi probably being one of such co-wives. She gave birth to Narasiṁha I in A.D. 1133, when Vishṇuvardhana was returning from the battle at Banavasi after slaying Masaṇa.

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[1] *E. C.*, XII, Gb, 13.
[2] *E.C.*, V, Ak, 58.
[3] *E.C.*, IV, Ng, 3.
[4] *E.C.*, XII, Gb, 13.
[5] *E.C.*, VI, Kd, 96.

Ganga Rāja had just died and the Jaina priests had carried the consecrated food to the King, who was then at Baṇkāpura, from the Pārśvanātha basadi, which was newly erected by Boppa-dēva in memory of his father. Vishṇuvardhana "being thus filled with joy on account of both his victory and the birth of a son, seeing the priests who had brought the sandal water and consecrated food from the consecration of the god Pārśva, he ordered them to approach and rising to meet them, saluted them with joined hands to his forehead, and took the sandal water and consecrated food, saying: 'By the merit of the consecration of this god I have obtained both a victory and the birth of a son, and have been filled with joy'. He therefore gave to the god the name of Vijaya-Pārśva, and to his son the name of Vijaya-Narasiṁha-Dēva"[1].

The prosperity and greatness of Vishṇuvardhana can be understood from the inscriptions and sculptures which show the splendour of his court. In A. D. 1117, after his glorious conquests in the South, he had performed the *hiraṇyagarbha* (having made a golden cow large enough to admit his crawling through it; and after that ceremony breaking it and distributing it to the Brahmans), the *tulāpurusha* (weighing himself against gold and distributing it among the Brahmans) and the *aśvamedha* or the horse sacrifice [2]. All these were rare performances and signified the greatness of a king.

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[1] *E.C.*, V, Bl, 124.

[2] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 215.

CHAPTER IX

Narasimha I, A. D. 1141 to A. D. 1173

Contemporaries

Chalukya Kings:—
- Jagadēkamalla, A. D. 1138-1149.
- Trilōkyamalla Taila, A. D. 1150-1182.

Chōḷa Kings:—
- Kulōtuṅga Chōḷa II, A. D. 1146.
- Rājadhirāja II.
- Kulōtuṅga Chōḷa III, A. D. 1178.

Kalachurya Kings:—
- Tribhuvanamalla Bijjāla, A. D. 1156-1167.
- Somēśvara Sōvidēva, A. D. 1167-1177.

Kadamba Kings of Haṅgal:—
- Mallikārjuna, A. D. 1132-1145.
- Tailama, A. D. 1147.

Kadamba Kings of Goa:—
- Śivachitta Pērmāḍi, A. D. 1148-1188.
- Vijayāditya II, A. D. 1158-1172.

Pāṇḍya Kings of Uchchaṅgi:—
- Tribhuvanamalla Vīra Pāṇḍya, A. D. 1143-1149.
- Vijaya Pāṇḍya Kāma-dēva, A. D. 1161-1187.

Changālva Kings:—
- Mahādēva, A. D. 1174.

Kongāḷva Kings:—
- Tribhuvanamalla Vīra Doḍḍa Kongāḷva-dēva, A.D. 1171.

Narasiṁha I was born to Vishṇuvardhada and Laxmidēvi in A. D. 1133, when his father had just obtained a great victory in the North. Soon after his arrival to his capital he gave him the name of Vijaya-Narasiṁha in commemoration of his victory and crowned him as Yuvarāja. Thus from the day of his birth he had a diadem on his brow [1]. In A. D. 1136 when Narasiṁha was only three years old he is said to have made a grant to the Brahmans of Bammiyūr [2]. But none of the inscriptions prior to A. D. 1140, indicate his powers as a ruler owing to his young age.

Vishṇuvardhana died in A. D. 1141 at Baṇkāpura, and therefore the responsibility of the kingdom fell on young Narasiṁha, who was only eight years then. From that time inscriptions inform us that he was ruling as a King. In that year Narasiṁha celebrated the "festival of his anointing to the crown" [3].

An inscription of A. D. 1159 however entitles the King "a fire to the forest rival heir" [4], which evidently indicates the existence of rival claimants to the throne; who these rivals were it is not possible to suggest. Owing to his young age Narasiṁha was protected by great ministers like Hulla, as we shall see later.

We have said that Vishṇuvardhana died in A. D. 1141, but it is a curious incident that his inscriptions extend to more than a dozen years after his death. Inscriptions of A. D. 1149 in Hassan Taluqua [5], and of A. D. 1148 in Kadūr Taluqua [6] say that Vishṇuvardhana was ruling at Dōrasamudra; while an inscription of 1142 states that Vishṇu was residing at Beluhur [7]. All these inscriptions speak of some grants made by some subjects of the King. The insertion of the name of the King in the inscriptions is due to the fact that the donors of the grants had achieved under him some meritorious actions in war during his life time. The complex Kanarese style often written in poetry misassociates the facts; and the misunderstanding carried thereby is much more aggravated in the English translations, and hence the date of the inscription need not necessarily indicate the year of the event; it only specifies the date of the grant. There is however an inscription of A. D. 1148 which states that the King had personally made a grant on that date[1]. But it states that the grant includes all that is mentioned in a former inscription. It is therefore to be supposed that an old inscription was copied under a new date. Mr. Krishna Sastri raises a difficulty regarding the date of Vishṇuvardhana's death[2]; while refering to Fleet he says that the Sinda chief Permāḍi I had defeated Vishṇuvardhana in A. D. 1144, and therefore he could not have died in A. D. 1141. But Mr. Fleet himself admits that the date of the second Naregal inscription[3] containing these facts is doubtful[4], and arrives at A. D. 1144 as the probable date. It can be concluded that Vishṇuvardhana died in A.D. 1141 from the evidence of the inscription which states that his body was carried to Mudugere on that date, and from the fact that none of the inscriptions of Narasiṁha are dated prior to A. D. 1141 except the one of A. D. 1136 mentioned above, in which no royal titles are given him.

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Bḷ, 93.
[2] *E. C.*, III, TN, 129.
[3] *E. C.*, V, HN, 17 (The date however is doubtful).
[4] *E. C.*, II, SB, 345 (137).
[5] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 65.
[6] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 34.
[7] *E. C.*, IV, Ch, 20.

Vishṇuvardhana bequeathed an extensive kingdom to his son, but his final defeat by the Sinda chief, and the rising power of the Kadambas and of the Pāṇḍyas had left the North in a political chaos. Narasiṁha's reign also saw the final collapse of the Chalukyas and the rise of the Kalachuryas in their place under the usurper Bijjala. Vishṇuvardhana's efforts for independence had proved completely unsuccessful and his son began his reign as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the Chalukyas. His reign was devoted to the consolidation of the Empire conquered in his father's lifetime, and his boundaries were maintained with great difficulty.

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1911-12, p. 41.

[2] *Q. J. M. S.*, II, p. 119.

[3] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XI, p. 219. Vishnuvardhana's defeat at the hands of Permadi is recorded in the Naregal inscription No. 11, p. 243.

[4] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 575.

The first battle in his reign took place in A. D. 1145 when he is said to have slain Changālva in battle, and seized his elephants, horses, gold and jewels[1]. The Changālvas had been entirely defeated and subjugated by Vishṇuvardhana, but the peculiar geographical situation of their territory always gave them facilities to assert their independence and to trouble their neighbouring rulers. Under whose command the Hoysaḷa army marched against the Changālvas there is no evidence to say. In A. D. 1150 Changālva harried the cows of Bannagavadi (in Hunsur Taluqua) and three Gauṇḍas died in the defence[2]; but the battle of A. D. 1145 had effected a severe blow on them, and they gradually retired South in Coorg[3]. Mr. Rice opines that a second battle was fought against the Changālvas under the command of Bōkimayya or Bōkana in A. D. 1150[4]; and his supposition is based on an inscription of that date in Hassan Taluqua[5]. But the inscription merely recapitulates the conquests of that general in the Western Ghats which as we know he had gained during the reign of Vishṇuvardhana.

The neighbouring territory of the Kongāḷvas was also attacked by the Hoysaḷas, towards the end of Narasiṁha's reign. An inscription of A.D. 1171 informs us that when the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla Vīra Doḍḍa Kongāḷvadēva was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom at Molateyabiḍu, during an attack on Molateyabiḍu by the Hoysaḷas, Tammudi-Rudra by order of Kongāḷva-dēva, killed the horses of the ememy and went to the world of gods[6]. Here the

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[1] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 76.
[2] *E. C.*, IV, Hs, 143.
[3] *E. C.*, IV, Introd., p. 17.
[4] *E. C.*, I, Introd., p. 14.
[5] *E.C.*, V, Hn, 69.
[6] *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 33.

Kongāḷvas claim a victory for themselves, but it was the Hoysaḷas that finally won, since in about A.D. 1179 we hear of Vīra Chōḷa Kongālva-dēva making a grant in the presence of Padmala-dēvi the Queen of Ballāḷa II[1].

The activities of Narasiṁha further south in the Chōḷa countries were merely to put down rebellions there within his territory. The general Bōkaṇa is said to have "split through the middle of the skulls of the Kongas like a thunderbolt, seized their property vehicles and hosts, and dragged and brought them in"[2]. In A.D. 1156 there was an attack against Tiptur, which belonged to the Kukkal-nāḍ-āḷvār[3]. He was a feudatory of Vishṇuvardhana and Narasiṁha. In A.D. 1163 there was another raid in Nigarili-Śōḷa-maṇḍalam[4]. These raids were evidently from the country further south under the Chōḷa Emperor. In A.D. 1171 Narasiṁha marched against a Senapadi of Kilalai-nāḍu in Rājēndra-Śōḷa-maṇḍalam. The King however fell in battle but was rescued by a land-holder at the cost of his life[5]. Rājēndra-Śōḷa-maṇḍalam comprised the present Salem and Coimbatore Districts and it had come under the rule of the Hoysaḷas during Vishṇuvardhana's reign; and the Kongas, often mentioned in the Hoysaḷa inscriptions, are said to be the Tamil people of that country[6]. Narasiṁha apparently went there to put down a rebellion. But in the Chōḷa country Narasiṁha had a strong support and a faithful feudatory in Mahā-Sāmanta Utama Chōḷa who was ruling Noṇambanakeṟe Twelve, Tippaṭur, Duṇḍā and Madhure. He had the badge of a Ballāḷa and was the worshipper at the feet of Hoysaḷa-dēva and an ornament to Hoysaḷa-dēva's camp[7]. It is interesting to note the word "Madhure" which probably stands for Madura, and Vishnuvardhana's claim to have made Madura his own comes to be true. Accordingly it seems that the statement of Mr. Wilson, of Oxford, that the Madura kings were under the Hoysaḷas, particularly under Narasiṁha I, is quite probable[1].

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[1] *E. C.*, I, Cg, 33.
[2] *E. C.*, XII, Kg, 1.
[3] *E. C.*, IX, Bn, 112.
[4] *E. C.*, X, Kl, 117.
[5] *E.C.*, IX, Kn, 84 (a).
[6] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 44.
[7] *E.C.*, XII, Tp, 61.

In the meantime Narasiṁha was fast losing his hold on the Kadamba territory. At that time Tailama was on the throne of the Banavasi-Haṅgal Kadambas, ruling the Pānuṅgal Five Hundred as a feudatory of the Chalukyas, while the Kadambas of Goa were represented by Pērmāḍi and Vijayāditya II, ruling Halasige Twelve Thousand and the Koṅkaṇa Nine Hundred. The Haive Five Hundred, which had been under the Kadambas of Banavasi, was conquered by Vishṇuvardhana, but was subsequently under a Kadamba Malli Dēvarasa[2], who was the feudatory of Chalukya Jagadēkamalla. In A. D. 1143 the Hoysaḷas marched with a great army against him but they were utterly defeated; the army of elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers was overthrown and put to flight[3]. Banavasi however must have been under Narasiṁha since it is omitted in the list of countries ruled by the Kadambas, and since Narasiṁha's inscriptions claim the province for him. Besides in A.D. 1150 Narasiṁha was residing in the Banavasi city[4]. But the close situation of Baṅkāpura and Haṅgal, enabled Tailama to give trouble to the Hoysaḷas. In A. D. 1161 a large Kadamba force marched to Baṅkāpura but Narasiṁha defeated them. The King crushed the force and won all the spoil[5].

At the same time Narasiṁha suffered a defeat from the Chalukyas and was consequently forced to acknowledge the sovereinty of the latter. In A. D. 1143 Chalukya Jagadēkamalla attacked the Hoysaḷas and captured the elephant[6]. In A. D. 1159 a Hoysaḷa warrior saved the life of Narasiṁha in the war with Ahumalla[7], probably Chalukya.

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[1] *J. R. A. S.*, III, p. 223.

[2] He was perhaps a brother of Tailama.

[3] *E. C.*, VIII, Sa, 58.

[4] *E. C.*, IV, Kp, 32.

[5] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 193.

[6] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 85.

[7] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 141.

By A.D. 1149 the Chalukyas had asserted their supremacy over Narasiṁha, for the latter was styled a "dweller at the lotus feet" of Jagadēkamalla [1]. In A.D. 1153 Narasiṁha added to his name the prefix "Jagadēkamalla" [2], evidently indicating his subordination as well as his loyalty to the Chalukya Jagadēkamalla.

During this period Bijjala, the Kalachurya chief, then the general of the Chalukya Emperor, was attempting to displace him from the throne; and most probably the latter had engaged the services of the Hoysaḷas to strengthen his power against Bijjala. The suggestion has been made by Fleet [3].

The Kalachuryas and the Haihayas were related, both having the golden bull as their symbol. On their first arrival in the South, they had been subdued by the Chalukyas and been made their feudatories. In A. D. 1150 Jagadēkamalla was succeeded by Taila on the Chalukya throne. Bijjala actually took advantage of the weakness of the new Emperor and in A. D. 1157 usurped his throne. Taila then retired southwards and maintained his power in the Banavasi country [4]. Though Bijjala assumed the titles of a king in A. D. 1161, the Kalachurya glory was short-lived, and its power soon dwindled owing to internal religious feuds.

At this time Banavasi became a bone of contention between the Chalukyas and the Kalachuryas. Before A. D. 1157 one Kēśimaya was ruling Banavasi as a governor under Taila [5], apparently in opposition to the rule of the Hoysaḷas. But after the fall of the Chalukya king in the same year, Kēśimaya became a governor of Bijjala and was still ruling Banavasi, now appointed by Bijjala [6], in opposition to Taila who had retired there. On behalf of Bijjala he won several

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[1] *E. C.*, XII, Ck, 29.
[2] *E. C.*, X, Kl, 100.
[3] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 501.
[4] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, Introd., pp. 69, 73.
[5] Ibid., p. 58.
[6] Ibid., p. 154.

several battles in Banavasi Haive, and all the regions round about the Tungabhadra and on the West Coast[1]. Before the year 1160 Barmmarasa a feudatory of Bijjala, defeated the Hoysaḷas. The battle took place near the river Tungabhadra. Narasiṁha's army was utterly defeated and his forces were driven into the river, making the waters "as red with their blood as if dyed with kunkuma"[2]. Barmmarasa then became the governor of Banavasi.

In A. D. 1162 Bijjala had encamped at Baḷḷigāve (Belgāmi) to subdue the South[3]. He then met Narasiṁha in battle, when at Bijjala's instance his generals Basada and Ḍavariga rushed forward to attack the Hoysaḷa King himself, but they were obstructed by the Hoysaḷa soldier Lakumaya-Nāyaka. Bijjala's army was then defeated, his cavalry being pursued and the horses killed[4].

This battle however did not decide a victory to either party; on the other hand it was the starting point for bitter enmity between the two powers. In A. D. 1163 Narasiṁha's general, one Jagadēva, raided the village in Kūḷuganūr in Sorab Taluqua, which was under the Kalachuryas, and "when he was carrying off the cows and loosing the waists of women", Bijjala's general Ekkalarasa marched against him and drove him away[5].

In the same year a Hoysaḷa chieftain raided the Agrahāra Kaṟeyakāvise which was in the province of Bijjala, and carried off the cows. He was however obstructed by one Malli-seṭṭi, but he was killed in the fray[6]. In A. D. 1166 Bijjala sent a large army against the chiefs of Sāntaḷige and Ekkalarasa of Udare; but all the chiefs having united put up a vigorous opposition, defeated the enemy and "carried off the heads of the chiefs and trampled down all the foot soldiers in the field of battle"[1]. Ekkalarasa and others were important feudatories of Vishnuvardhana.

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[1] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 155.

[2] Ibid., p. 66.

[3] *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 102.

[4] *E. C.*, IV, Kp, 4; *M. A. R.*, 1914-5, p. 51.

[5] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 193.

[6] Ibid., Sk, 372.

In this political upheaval in the North, the Pāṇḍyas also took an important part. They had been defeated by Vishṇuvardhana and the latter was actually residing at Uchchangi in A. D. 1137, having acquired the title Noṇambavāḍi-goṇḍa. He had driven Rāya Pāṇḍya to Beltur which he had to make his temporary capital. But his successor Vīra Pāṇḍya asserted his powers and immediately after Vishṇuvardhana's death, in A. D. 1143; he was residing at Uchchangi as a feudatory of the Chalukyas[2]. In A. D. 1157 however after the overthrow of the Chalukyas; the Pāṇḍyas came under Bijjala and in A. D. 1165 Vijaya Pāṇḍya was ruling Noṇambavāḍi as a feudatory of the Kalachuryas[3]. But the Pāṇḍyas took the advantage of the religious feuds in Bijjala's kingdom to obtain independence, and as early as A. D. 1169 the Pāṇḍya King acknowledged no higher authority[4]. The transfer of Noṇambavāḍi from the hands of the Chalukyas to the Kalachuryas facilitated Narasiṁha's plans to regain his lost possessions In A. D. 1157 he styled himself as "an elephant to the lotus garden, the Pāṇḍya-kula"[5], and in A.D. 1163 we see the Brahmans of Koḷḷinaghaṭṭa Agrahāra in Pāṇḍya-nāḍ near the Tungabhadra river acknowledging the supremacy of Narasiṁha[6].

After his conquests he had under him practically all the territories which his father had possessed. In A. D. 1167 he was ruling the kingdom of the world, beginning from Heddore (Kṛishṇa)[7]. But his power in the North was much weakened. Thus in the same year A.D. 1167 he had only Gangavāḍi Ninety-six Thousand as far as Kongu "under his sole umbrella"[8]; but an inscription of A. D. 1162 adds

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[1] Ibid., Sa, 114.

[2] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 4.

[3] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 61.

[4] Ibid., p. 71.

[5] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 135.

[6] *E. C.*, VII, Hl, 87.

[7] *E.C.*, IV, Hs, 3.

[8] Ibid., Ch, 98.

Nonambavāḍi Thirty two Thousand to his kingdom [1]. That Nonambavāḍi was under him in this year seems to be probable from the testimony we have in the inscription of the Koḷḷinaghaṭṭa Brahmans mentioned above. But since it is omitted in the inscription of A.D. 1167 it may be suggested that the Kalachuryas who were contesting the possession of the Pāṇḍya territories had by this time successfully repulsed the Hoysaḷas.

He had retained all the titles of his father such as the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, capturer of Talakāḍu, Kongu, Nangali, Kolala, Hānuṅgal, and Banavasi, the strong armed Vīra-Ganga Vishṇuvardhana-dēva Narasiṁha-dēva, and sometimes "Vīra-Ganga Kadamba" [2]. But he had to add the prefix Jagadēkamalla in A.D. 1158 to indicate his subordination to the Chalukyas. This title however was dropped after the death of Jagadēkamalla, though the term "Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara" was still retained. He had besides some of those high sounding titles which carry no meaning: "the Yavanas and Śakas, the kings of Siṃhaḷa and the seven islands in the middle of the sea, trembled before him" [3]. "Though a son, this Nrisiṁha was greater than even his father in might and valour; and double, treble, quadruple, quintuple of the celebrated hero Vishṇu" [4]. At another place he is styled as his father's warrior [5]. These were nothing more then vainglorious titles and hence they convey no hint to his greatness. He inherited none of his father's qualities of statesmanship and military prowess. It will be recalled from the incidents narrated before that he fell in battle twice, once when attacking the Chōḷas and another time in the battle with Bijjala at Belgāmi, and was rescued by his servants.

Like his father Narasiṁha required a large number of daṇḍanāyakas and ministers for the administration of his kingdom; many of these generals had been serving under Vishṇuvardhana and they continued to be the faithful councillors of his son.

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[1] *E.C.*, XII, Tp, 61.

[2] Ibid.

[3] *E.C.*, VI, Kd, 51.

[4] *E.C.*, IV, Hs, 137.

[5] *E.C.*, XII, Gb, 12.

Among these were the brothers Mariyāne and Bhārata who had received a grant from the King in A. D. 1145[1]. But very little is heard of them after this date. Bokkimayya or Bokkaṇa[2], another general, had figured in battles with the Changālvas, the Tuḷus and other hill tribes during the time of Vishṇuvardhana. He continued to be an important councillor of Narasiṁha and held the posts of great minister and general and senior master of the robes[3]. He was also the Sarvādhikāri or prime minister[4], and was governing the Gangavādi Ninety-six Thousand from his capital Naṇgili[5]. In A.D. 1155 he styled himself as Vishṇuvardhana's garuḍa[6] and claimed to have brought "the whole earth in subjection to the King Vīra Narasiṁha[7]. In A. D. 1154 he repaired the great tank at Vijayādityamaṅgalam, or Bēṭamaṅgala tank[8], which is now used for supplying water to the Kolar gold fields; and he caused a manṭapa to be built for the spiritual welfare of his mother Mallikavve[9].

The great minister Sarvādhikāri Daṇḍanāyaka Biṭṭiyaṇṇa, Vishṇu's general, of the Karṇṇāṭa-vaṁśa, who had subdued Koṅga and Nīlāchala made a grant in A. D. 1167 to the Kēśava temple at Dharmmāpura[10]. The one general Biṭimayya that we have known in the reign of Vishṇuvardhana was the son of Mariyāne, to whom the same conquests were ascribed. But the descent of the present one from the Karṇṇāta-vaṁśa leads as to the supposition that he was a different general.

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1914-15, p. 51.

[2] Some times written as "Chokkimayya".

[3] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 69.

[4] *M. A.R.*, 1914-15, p. 52.

[5] *E. C.*, X, Bp, 9.

[6] Ibid.

[7] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 69.

[8] *E.C.*, X, Bp, 9.

[9] *M. A. R.*, 1914-15, p. 52.

[10] *E.C.*, IV, Hs, 137.

Perhaps the greatest ministers of Narasiṁha were the three brothers Huḷḷa, Lakshmaras and Amarēśvara, who governed the country jointly. These three brothers, Huḷḷa being the eldest of them, descended from the Vāji-vaṃśa and were the children of Jakkirāja and Lōcāmbike[1]. Huḷḷa lived to a long age, having served Vishṇuvardhana, and died in the time of Ballāḷa; from the latter he received a grant in A. D. 1175[2]. The three brothers "were charged with the burden of the whole kingdom, adorning the rank of great ministers, possessed of the three powers of government, council and energy". Huḷḷa was the great minister and treasurer, and the two younger brothers were great ministers[3]. In A. D. 1167 Amarēśvara-daṇḍanāyaka, who is styled as a Commander-in-Chief, built a permanent encampment at Bētamaṅgala and lived there[4]. It should be remembered that in A. D. 1155 minister Bokkimayya had built the tank there. Huḷḷa had the title of Samyaktva-chūḍāmaṇi[4]. He was a Jaina, and a lay disciple of Maladhāri-swāmi and was considered to be the third great champion of the Jaina doctrine, the first being Chāmuṇḍa Rāya, minister of Rachamalla, and the second Ganga Rāja, minister of Vishṇuvardhana[6]. In A. D. 1159 he built the great Chaturvimsati-temple at Beḷgoḷa, which the King renamed as Bhavya-chūḍāmaṇi and granted the village Savaneru. He also renovated the Uppaṭṭāyata's Jaina temple at Baṅkāpura. He rebuilt the completely ruined temple formerly know as Kaliviṭa, as high as Kailāsa; he granted lands, purchased after payment of much gold, to provide for the maintenance of the Jaina gurus at Kopana; he built a "splendid temple from base to pinnacle, so as to stand to the end of time, in the original holy place of Kellangere, formerly founded by the Gangas", and at the same place he built five more [1]. He delighted "in the restorations of Jina temples, in assemblies for Jina worship, in gifts to groups of Jaina ascetics, in devotion to the praise of Jina's feet and in hearing holy *purāṇas* of Jina"; thus he passed his time every day [2].

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[1] *E. C.*, II, SB, 349 (138).
[2] Ibid., SB, 240 (90).
[3] *E. C.*, XII, Gb, 12.
[4] *E. C.*, X, Bp, 8.
[5] *E. C.*, II, SB, 349 (138).
[6] Ibid., SB, 345 (137).

Another general of Narasiṁha was the great minister Heggaḍe Lakumayya, son of Nāga-dēva Nāyaka born in the Kānva-Vaṁśa, of the Kāśyapa-Gōtra, and was a worshipper of Purushōttama. He had "freed the kingdom of Poysaḷa-Narasiṁha-dēva from enemies and established him"; and for that he received a reward in A. D. 1170 [3]. In A. D. 1169 he was occupying the rank of a great minister and was the Mahāpradhāna, Sarvādhikāri Sēnādhipathi daṇḍanāyaka [4]. The same year he erected the god Nāga-Kēśava in the royal city of Seṭṭiyūr on the banks of the river Kapini.

Kereya Padmarasa was another important minister of Narasiṁha. He obtained the nick-name "Kereya", "of the tank" for building the famous Biṭṭisamudra at Belur. For this purpose he had misappropriated 12,000 honnu from the royal treasury, which Narasiṁha coming to know asked Padmarasa for an explanation. The latter took the King to Belur and showing the beautiful tank which he had built with the money, he was satisfied. In about A. D. 1150 Padmarasa retired from the duties of a minister and devoted himself to literature. Among his works that have come down to us the "ದೀಕ್ಷಾಬೋಧೆ" written in *ragaḷe* (a metrical style of inferior sort) is well known in Kannaḍa literature. He was a great patron of learning and among the many poets he encouraged, are Rāmaṇṇa, Rāghava, Māyidēva, Karṇabharaṇa, Dēvarasa, Rāmithande, Nāgi-dēva, Śiva-Dāsa, Dāvarasa and Śaraṇakavi. Padmarasa was a zealous Śaiva and is credited to have defeated the famous Vaishnava theologian Tribhuvanatāta from Andhra-dēśa at the court of Narasiṁha [5].

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[1] Ibid., II, SB, 345, (137) and 349 (138).

[2] Ibid., II, SB, 345 (137).

[3] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 66.

[4] *E. C.*, III, Nj, 175.

[5] Cf. Narasimhachar, *Kannada Kavi Charita*, I, p. 245.

Among other generals and ministers of Narasiṁha were Eṛeyangamayya daṇḍanāyaka, a Jaina under whom was his son-in-law Īśvara-chāmupati[1]. Pārisayya daṇṇanāyaka, a son-in-law of the famous Mariyāne daṇḍanayaka, who died in A. D. 1159, in the act of rescuing the King when Ahumalla had come to attack him. His son was Śāntiyaṇa daṇṇanāyaka who, erected a basadi in memory of his father[2]. Padmanabha Chamūnātha, "the head-jewel of daṇḍanāthas" and "a foundation pillar of the wealth of the kingdom of Narasiṁha", was a devout Śaiva[3]. Hiriya Bammeya, the great minister and general who had subdued Gauḷa, Chōḷa, Chēra, Pāṇḍya and Iruṅgōḷa, under whom was the Sāmantha Ghasaṇe-Mahādēva-Nāyaka governing Kaḷikaṭṭi in Magare Three hundred[4]. The great minister Mallayya ruling Atiganūr[5]. The Sarvādhikāri and chief minister Nāka who was an enthusiastic Śaiva; in A. D. 1169 he established the Brahmasamudra and erected the Nākēśvara temple with the permission of the King[6]. Nāka was one of the four sons of Maddi Rāja, the three others being Govinda, Kāḷi-Dāsa and Būchi. Āchi Rāja, who descended from a very ancient noble family, was Śri-karana pradhāna[7]. Dēvapayya daṇḍanāyaka[8]. Chāvimayya the great minister and senior general, whose wife set up the god Chenna-Pārśvanātha at Heragu in A. D. 1155[9]. The great minister Hergade Śiva Rāja[10]; and the minister Malli-Dēva[11].

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[1] *E.C.*, XII, Tm, 38.

[2] *E.C.*, V, Ak, 141. See above p. 120

[3] Ibid., Cn, 246.

[4] Ibid., Ak, 42.

[5] *E.C.*, VI, Tk, 17.

[6] Ibid., Kd, 57.

[7] Ibid., Kd, 66.

[8] *E.C.*, V, Cn, 187.

[9] Ibid., Hn, 57.

[10] *E. C.*, IV, Kp, 36.

[11] *E. C.*, IX, Cp, 46.

Sometimes it happened that one of these generals would rise in rebellion, and the King had to send a faithful feudatory to subdue him. Thus we find that Bāṇa Kalyāṇa daṇḍanāyaka had united with twelve other Nāyakas of the eastern-nāḍs in rebellion against Narasiṁha, but the latter sent the mahāsāmanthādhipati Kāmeya-Nāyaka, who was considered an ornament of the Hoysaḷa camp and was entitled to the band of five chief instruments. Kāmeya "pierced through the line (*sālu*) and slaying the principal Nāyakas, obtained the name Sāla-Kāmeya and gained the world of gods"[1].

Among Narasiṁha's feudatories there was one Hemmāḍi, a Ganga chief, the son-in-law of Eṟeyanga, who had acknowledged the supremacy of this king while he was ruling the Eḍḍore Maṇḍali Thousand with Harige as his residence[2]. He was, as we know, a general of the Chalukyas during the reign of Vishṇuvardhana and had skirmishes with him on behalf of his overlord.

There was another important Ganga chief called Bāchaya or Bāchi who was residing at Kaidala in Maṟugare-nāḍ. His titles were:—Entitled to the band of five chief instruments, mahā-sāmanta, favourite of the Lakshmi of valour, champion over the forty four, boon lord of Mānyakhēḍapura, sun of the Adaḷas. He was the patron of all four creeds and though he was a Śaiva he married a wife of Jaina persuasion. In A. D. 1151 he made provisions for both Śaiva and Jaina temples to perpetuate the memory of his relatives and ancestors[3].

The "mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Sindha Gōvinda, champion over adulterers, the Pātāḷa-chakravartti, Īśvara Dēvarasa", was also a feudatory of Narasiṁha. This Sinda chieftain even though recognising the soverignty of Narasiṁha attempted to encroach upon the territories of his master and extend his principality. In about A.D. 1166 he attacked the Arakere-nāḍ, one of his chief enemies being a Master of the Robes at the Hoysaḷa court[1].

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[1] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 63.
[2] *E. C.*, VII, Sh, 64.
[3] *E. C.*, XII, Tm, 9.

Finally there was the great feudatory Hariya-Chalikeya-Nāyaka governing the kingdom of Siṅgaṭigere in the Chaḷukya-vṛitti. He died in A. D. 1153[2].

The principality of the Huliyera chiefs continued in prosperity. Gōvi-dēva, who was an important feudatory of Vishṇuvardhana, survived him and is known to have been living in A. D. 1149[3]. He was succeeded by his nephew Bitti-Sāmantha who, from an inscription in Chicknayakanahalli we understand, was a voluptuary[4]. In A. D. 1171 he was assisted by his son Baleya Sāmantha in the administration of his province[5].

From the time of Narasiṁha, Dōrasamudra became the permanent residence of the Hoysaḷa Kings.

The large conquests of Vishṇuvardhana and the comparative peace during the time of Narasiṁha had brought the kingdom in a state of prosperity and the King's treasury was completely filled up, necessitating its extension: "the King owing to the increase of his wealth gave to the body-guard the watch over the upper story of the treasury"[6]. The body-guard was Beḷḷappayya Nāyaka, who obtaining the pledge of the van-guard became a "Nāyaka who was a Master of the Robes". Besides Beḷḷappa the King had many other Masters of the Robes. Such personages, who could be identified as private secretaries, took charge of the private apartments of the King and were responsible for the robes and dresses and other articles of royalty.

Among the Queens of Narasiṁha, the principal one, the crowned Queen, was the mother of Ballāḷa II, Echala-dēvi, a namesake of Ereyanga's wife. Her name is mentioned in almost all the inscriptions of Ballāḷa II, but particulars of her antecedents or her activities are not forthcoming. She was sometimes known as "Mahādēvi" or "the Mahādēvi"[1], which probably means the great lady (ಮಹಾದೇವಿ). An inscription in the Dharwar District informs us that Ballāḷa II was the son of Debala-dēvi, who descended from a noble family[2]. Debala-dēvi has therefore to be identified with Ēchala-dēvi.

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[1] *E. C.*, VII, Hl, 98.
[2] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 28.
[3] *E. C.*, XII, Ck, 18.
[4] Ibid., Ck, 21.
[5] Ibid., Ck, 43.
[6] *E.C.*, V, Cn, 210.

Among other queens Mailaḷa-dēvi who was "the senior queen and crowned queen" was residing with Narasiṁha at Banavasi in A. D. 1150[3]. Two other ladies Umā-dēvi and Lōkāmbike are stated to be the queens of Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha but it is not known which Narasiṁha the inscriptions are referring to[4].

The increasing prosperity of the King and the able management of his ministers and counsellors in whose charge he had to give the whole administration of his kingdom owing to his young age, led him into a life of luxury and voluptuousness. Towards the end of his reign after his battles in the North in A. D. 1160 he lapsed into a life of debauchery. In A.D. 1161 he had three-hundred and eighty-four well-born women in his female apartments[5]. In A. D. 1173 he was compared to "the royal swan sporting in the lake of the Āndhra women, the sun to the lotus faces of the Simhala women, the golden zone to the waists of the Karṇṇāṭi women, the ornament stamped with musk on the cheeks of the Lāṭa (Gujarati) women, the saffron paste on the goblets the breasts of the Chōḷa women, the moon to the water-lilies the eyes of the Gauḷa (a part of Bengal) women, the wave on the ....of the beauty of Bangāḷa girls, the bee to the scent and pollen of the lotuses the faces of the Mālavis (malwa)"[6]. Probably he died in the same year, since his inscriptions do not go beyond that date. His premature death, at the young age of forty is ascribed by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar to his loose morality [1].

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[1] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 30, 93.

[2] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, p. 322.

[3] *E. C.*, IV, Kr, 32.

[4] *M. A. R.*, 1926, p. 32, and Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, II, p. 147. (In both these cases the dates are not given.)

[5] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 193.

[6] Ibid., Bl, 114.

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[1] S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 250. The first Rajaprasasti, an introduction to Hemadri's *Vratakhanda* written in the time of Yadava Mahadeva (published in Appendix C of Sir. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan)* informs us that Yadava Bhillama put to death the lord Hosala, who, Prof. Bhandarkar supposes (*Bombay Gazetteer*, I. Part II, p. 238), was Narasimha I. This cannot be possible since the Yadavas made their first appearance after A. D. 1180 during the reign of Ballala II. Besides in A.D. 1173, about the time of his death, Narasimha was in Dorasamudra (*E. C.*, V, Bl, 114) and there is absolutely no evidence to show that he had been in the North after A. D. 1170. The *Vratakhanda* itself was written after about a century from Bhillama's death and hence the accuracy of the document is questionable.

CHAPTER X

Ballala II A. D. 1173-1220

Contemporaries:
- Chalukya Kings:—
  - Trilōkyamalla Vīra Somēśvara IV, A. D. 1183 and 1189.
- Chōḷa Kings:—
  - Rājādhirāja II.
  - Kulōṭuṅga Chōla III, A. D. 1178.
- Kalachurya Kings:—
  - Rāyamurāri Sōvi Dēva, A. D. 1167 to 1177.
  - Nissankamalla Sankamma, A. D. 1177-1181
  - Āhavamalla, A. D. 1161-1183
  - Singhana, A. D. 1183.
- Yādava Kings of Dēvagiri:—
  - Bhillama, A. D. 1187 to 1191.
  - Jaithugi I, A. D. 1191 to 1210.
  - Singhana, A. D. 1210 to 1247.
- Kadamba Kings of Hāṅgal:—
  - Kāmadēva, A. D. 1181 to 1203.
- Kadamba Kings of Goa:—
  - Jayakēśi III, A. D. 1187-1210.
- Pāṇḍya Kings of Uchchangi:—
  - Vijaya-Pāṇḍya Kāma Dēva, A. D. 1161-1187.
- Changāḷva Kings:—
  - Mahadēva, A. D. 1174.
  - Pemma Vīrappa, A. D. 1175.

Ballāḷa II vied in glory with his grand-father, and his long and vigorous reign of forty seven years saw the achievement of independence which had long been coveted by his fore-fathers. Favourable circumstances together with the personal ability of Ballāḷa II brought about the overthrow of the Chalukya suzerainty which had been practically a nominal one during the beginning of his reign. So powerful did Ballāḷa become that the succeeding monarchs were named "the Ballāḷas" after him[1].

The first inscription of Ballāḷa II is dated in A. D. 1165 which mentions that "Kumāra Ballāḷa-Dēva" was born to the crown consort of Narasiṁha[2]; but this is certainly not the date of his birth since in A. D. 1168 he was ruling as a Yuvarāja, with his queen Mahādēviyarasi[3]. From this time onwards Ballāḷa took an active part in the affairs of the kingdom, but towards the end of Narasiṁha's reign he turned refractory and had skirmishes with his father's generals. We know that in his later life Narasiṁha had lapsed into a voluptuary and let escape the many chances of acquiring independence. It was a time when the Chalukyas and Kalachuryas were fighting with each other till both the empires were crippled. Ballāḷa, being an able statesman and a soldier, viewed the conduct of his father with concern and his chief object was to gain the crown before his father's death. In A. D. 1164 Kēśava Nāyaka, an officer under Prince Ballāḷa, made a grant in order that "Ballāḷa may attain the throne"[4]. An epigraph of A. D. 1172 clearly indicates the rebellion of Ballāḷa against his father. It records that when "Bhujabala-Vīra-Gaṅga-pratāpa-Narasiṁha-Hoysāḷa-Dēva was ruling the earth in Dōrasamudra, Kumāra-Ballāḷa-Dēva, having rebelled against his father, made incursion into Tāḷige-nāḍu and Koḍagi-nāḍu"[1]. The same year Ballāḷa made an incursion in Hūvina-Haḷḷi where the famous archer Bameya-Nāyaka attacked on behalf of the King and died[2]. It was about the same time that Prince Ballāḷa went over to the Malē countries to win their alliance: "when Ballāḷa-Dēva, leaving his father, passed over Malē—making all the subjects and farmers of Malē, together with Kongāḷva, Changāḷva and other chiefs of Malē visit him, he (Tantrapāla-Hemmāḍi) caused the diadem of the empire to be bound on him, and obtained the rank of minister"[3]. We understand from the term "leaving his father" that he deserted him and turned refractory. Hemmāḍi whom Ballāḷa raised to the rank of a minister descended from a low family of bangle-sellers[4]. His title "Tantrapāla" signifies that he was the guardian of secrets or private secretary.

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[1] Tradition says that "Balala" was a title of Sala from "Bala' strength. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, Introd., p. 64.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 210. There is an inscription of Ballala dated A. D. 1131 (*E. C.*, IV, Kp, 55); but his father Narasimha was born in A. D. 1133 and hence it is clearly a mistake.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 191.

[4] Rangacharya, *Topographical List*, II, p. 1216.

The Changāḷvas who had been reduced to feudatorship by Vishṇuvardhana, had turned rebellious soon after Narasiṁha's accession to the throne, but they were promptly quelled. They however were ever on the look-out to retaliate, and a number of cow-raids took place in the Hoysaḷa villages. They readily allied with the rebel crown prince Ballāḷa, as the above epigraph indicates, and probably they helped him in the incursions of A. D. 1172. But however he had not to wait long because soon after, Narasiṁha died and Ballāḷa succeeded him in A. D. 1173.

He was crowned at Dōrasamudra on 21st July, 1173, (Sunday 10th of Śrāvaṇa Sudha, in the year Vijaya). This was an auspicious day being the Karkkāṭaka-Sañkramaṇa (passage of the sun into Cancer) and on this day was celebrated "the festival of the anointing to the kingdom and coronation in the residence at Dōrasamudra." On this date he destributed

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 53.

[2] *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 36.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 86.

[4] Ibid.

"great gifts"[1]. He made for the god Māṇikēśvara a grant of Hiriya-Belugaḷi in Sīge-nāḍ, free of all imposts[2]; for the decorations of the god Saurāshtra-Sōmanātha a grant of Kuppehāḷa in Āsandi-nāḍ[3]; a grant of Āladahaḷḷi for the decorations of the god Sōmanātha through his servant Boppa-Gavuḍa[4]; and a grant of Ilamarudur in Padināḍu for the god Kirti Nārayaṇa at Talakāḍ[5].

After assuming regal powers Ballāḷa's attention was first directed to the hill tribes, the very people who had assisted him against his father during his refractory days. In A. D. 1171 they had been defeated by the Kadamba Sovi-dēva. He had taken Changāḷva-dēva prisoner and put him into irons as he had vowed he would[6], but soon after Ballāḷa had allied with Changāḷva-dēva; and this encouraged him so much that he assumed the Hoysaḷa title "Boon lord of Dvārāvatī-pura" and went as an independent ruler[7], which evidently annoyed Ballāḷa. In A. D. 1174 he sent an army under the command of Beṭṭarasa against Changāḷva Maha-dēva; but the Changāḷva King, foreboding this attack retired to Coorg and fortified himself at Pālpare in Hatgatnāḍ. Beṭṭarasa marching there, "ruined Changāḷva-Mahadēva, and building a city at Pālpare, made it his capital." But the Changāḷva King's son Changāḷva-Pemma-Vīrappa was in the meantime rallying forces, and having allied himself with "Bāḍagaṇḍa Nandi-Dēva, Udayaditya Dēva of Kuruche, and others, the Koḍagas (Coorgs) of all the nāḍs," he marched into Pālpare, and Beṭṭarasa was "being worsted" when Mādaya-Nāyaka, a brave soldier "secured the fortune of victory," "went to the world of gods, and gained a great name"[8].

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 71, 119; Bl, 118.

[2] Ibid., Bl, 118.

[3] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 4.

[4] Ibid., Kd, 139.

[5] *M. A. R.*, 1911-12, p. 42.

[6] *E. C.*, VII, Sb, 345.

[7] *E. C.*, IV, Hs, 111.

[8] *E. C.*, IV, Hs, 20.

From this time onwards Coorg came under the possession of Ballāḷa as can be inferred from the fact that Hoysaḷa inscriptions of A. D. 1175 have been discovered there[1]. But in A.D. 1180 Ballāḷa himself had to march against Changāḷvadēva. Just at that time he made a grant of Sindūr to god Somēśvara, apparently for the success of his expedition[2]. The expedition was perhaps only to put down a rebellion which the Changāḷva King had raised. After this date the Changāḷvas disappear for a time.

The Kongālvas had been defeated in A. D. 1171 during the time of Narasiṁha, but immediately afterwards Ballāḷa, as a rebel against his father had joined them. After his accession to the throne the Kongālvas did not revolt against him as the Changāḷvas had done. On the other hand they continued their friendly alliance with him as can be inferred from an inscription of about A.D. 1176 which informs us that Vīra Chōḷa Kongālva Dēva gave authority to some of his favourite subjects, before Ballāḷa's queen, Padmala and her daughter Somala and others, to "raise and receive customs dues" of five honu on each village in Muḷḷu-nāḍ seventy as tribute money [3].

The Tuḷuva country was swayed over by Ballāḷa. From the time of his reign it can be said that the rulers of Tuḷuva became the feudatories of the Hoysaḷas. We have seen that Vishṇuvardhana had pushed back his boundary as far West as Bārakūr and that he had several skirmishes with the Āḷupas who were ruling the Tuḷuva country. An inscription of about A. D. 1178 informs us that Ballāḷa covered up with smoke "the mountainous Āḷvara-khēḍa" [4]. He had sent his expedition further West after the conquest over the Changāḷvas to bring the Āḷupa and Tuḷuva rulers into subjection. In A. D. 1193 the Tuḷuvas carried off the cows of agrahāra Saṅkaranārāyaṇapura which was then under Ballāḷa[5] Saṅkaranārāyaṇapura can be identified with the town Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa near Bārakūr. This evidently means that Tuḷuva was already under the Hoysaḷas at the time, but the Āḷupa kings were trying to overthrow the Hoysaḷa yoke. In about A.D. 1194 we find that "Āḷuva Nāyaka" had allied with Ballāḷa II in "putting a stop to the riot" which took place at Musavanakatta. This friendly relationship with the kings of the Tuḷuva country continued down to the end of Hoysala rule.

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[1] *E. C.*, I, Cg, 33-70.
[2] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 162.
[3] *E. C.*, I, Cg, 33.
[4] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 220.
[5] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 31.

Immediately after his conquest over the Changāḷvas Ballāḷa directed his attention northwards and we see him engaged in war with the Pāṇḍyas of Noḷambavāḍi. The Pāṇḍyas had been defeated by Vishṇuvardhana in A.D. 1116 and he had made Uchchangi one of his capitals in A.D. 1137. But the defeat he had suffered at the hands of the Chalukya general Pērmmādi had made the Pāṇḍyas free from Hoysaḷa agression and during Narasiṁha I they returned back to Uchchangi and the Hoysaḷas practically lost their hold on Nolambavāḍi. This was the period of struggle between the Chalukyas and the Kalachuryas. The Pāṇḍya king, Vijaya Pāṇḍya seems to have taken this opportunity to free himself from the yoke of Chalukya suzerainty. The Pāṇḍya inscriptions of this period show that he was free from any overlord.

The object of Ballāḷa II in attacking the Pāṇḍya king was apparently to reconquer the territory of his grand-father and to have a strong-hold there from which he could start his expeditions to the North against the Yādavas and Kalachuryas.

A large number of inscriptions after the year A. D. 1180 mention Ballala's capture of Uchchangi. But the earliest inscription, found in Chikkanāyakanahaḷḷi, is dated 26th September of A. D. 1177 and mentions that Ballāḷa proceeded on a tour of conquests, defeated the Pāṇḍya king and making Uchchangi his capital, was residing there[1]. Therefore his conquest must have taken place a short time before the date of the inscription.

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[1] *E. C.*, XII, Ck. 36.

The details of the battle are given in many inscriptions. An inscription at Śrāvaṇa Beḷgoḷa gives the following description: "When in the pride of his arm Oḍeyarasa was with great fury determined to fight, King Ballāḷa marched forth, and surrounding and beseiging Uchchangi, whose peaks had been reduced to powder, by the blows from the tusks of the group of lordly elephants of his army, captured King Pāṇḍya together with his beautiful women, country, treasuries, father and group of horses. Laying seige to Uchchangi which was for a long time considered impregnable to enemies, King Ballāḷa, a treasury to irresistable prowess, took the fort with ease and seized the Kings Kāma-dēva and the famous Oḍeya, and their treasury, women and troops of horses"[1]. Ballāḷa was assisted by his great minister, Sarvādhikari and general of the army, Mahā-pasāyita Mādhava daṇḍanāyaka, who "with his unrivalled army subduing the hostile Kings, brought their fine elephants, squadrons of horses, treasury, wives and white umbrella, and gave them to his master". Soon after the battle he returned leaving Ballāḷa in Uchchangi[2]. Kāma-dēva who is mentioned here is the Pāṇḍya King commonly known as Vijaya Pāṇḍya, the younger brother of Vīra Pāṇḍya and the son of Rāya Pāṇḍya. Oḍeya is identified with Udayāditya, the son of Kāma-dēva[3]. From the inscription we understand that it was Oḍeya, the son, and not Kāma-dēva who led the opposing forces.

The description of the fort together with the heroic siege is given in this manner: "Overthrown in battle, Pāṇḍya abandoned his unshaken hill, and forsaking his prancing horse and the throne on which he sat, took refuge in the middle of a forest, even there apprehensive of death and consumed by fear, thus does King Ballāḷa's astounding valour triumph. The King of birds (Garuḍa) who soars at will over the three worlds, is unable to fly over the highest peak of

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[1] *E. C.*, II, SB, 327 (124).
[2] *E. C.*, XII, Ck, 36.
[3] *I. H. Q.*, IV, p. 131.

Pāṇḍya's splendid *droog*"[1]. It is said that Pāṇḍya escaped to a desert but another inscription says that he escaped at night to a neighbouring mountain[2]. From an inscription in Kadur Taluqua we understand that Ballāḷa attacked the rear guard[3]. All this evidence leads us to the supposition that Ballāḷa first attacked the fort and when the enemy thought that very soon a breach in the walls would be formed they proceeded out and with-stood Ballāḷa's forces. This pitched battle is called "the battle of Ummadūr" when "a crore of warriors united and attacked him". But Ballāḷa, "like a boy at play, with his sword created a sea of blood"[4]. They were soon over-powered and had to fly for safety, but Ballāḷa's army pursued them and attacked the "rear guard". Soon after Ballāḷa returned and was found ruling there in the summer of A. D. 1173.

The fort was considered impregnable and the peaks of Uchchangi were so high that even Garuḍa could not reach them. It was surrounded with "a moat like *Pātāḷa*, as broad as the eight cardinal points, high as the sky, extending in both directions, so that it was famed in the three worlds"[5]. The invincibility of the fort is suggested by the statement that Chōḷa had laid siege to it for twelve years without success and had to abandon it as hopeless[6]. The manner in which Ballāḷa attacked the fort was by forcing hoards of elephants to dig the walls with their tusks, as the inscription of Śrāvana Beḷgoḷa informs us, and by setting fire to the fort[7]. In this manner he forced the enemy to march out of the fort.

Ballāḷa is said to have completed (siddhisidudu) the conquest of Uchchangi on a Saturday (Śanivāra), and hence he acquired the title Śanivāra-siddhi. The other title which he acquired was Giridurgga-malla (capturer of hill-forts)[1]. Before this time these titles had belonged to the Kalachurya king, Bijjaḷa, and Ballāḷa seems to have borrowed them from him[2].

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[1] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 21-22.
[2] *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 105.
[3] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 127.
[4] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 175.
[5] Ibid., Bl, 72.
[6] Ibid., Bl, 137, 175.
[7] *M. A. R.*, 1926, p. 51.

Soon after the defeat, Vijaya Pāṇḍya supplicated to Ballāḷa and the latter restored the Pāṇḍya throne to him: "When Pāṇḍya claimed his protection, (Ballāḷa) had pity on him and restored to him his kingdom,—thus in seizing and in bestowing famed throughout the three worlds was vīra-Ballāḷa-dēva"[3].

But immediately afterwards Vijaya Pāṇḍya turned rebellious as has been suggested by Mr. Fleet[4]. Ballāḷa was at this time in bitter enmity with his suzerain Somēśvara IV, who had succeeded in regaining, though partially, the Chalukya kingdom from the hands of the Kaḷachuryas. The Pāṇḍyas reverted to their old suzerains, the Chalukyas, paid them homage and turned faithless to Ballāḷa. Pāṇḍya's acknowledgment of the supremacy of Somēśvara is borne out by his new titles Śrimaj-Jagadēkamalla-dēva-pādābja-bhṛiṅga (follower of the Western Chalukya Jagadēkamalla) in A. D. 1184[5], and Tribhuvanamalla-dēva-pādābja-bhṛinga (follower of the Western Chalukya emperor Tribhuvanamalla *i. e.* Somēśvara IV) in A. D. 1187[6].

This led Ballāḷa to attempt a final destruction of the Pāṇḍyas. An inscription of A. D. 1220 in Hoḷālkere informs us that the Hoysaḷa King Vīra-Ballāḷa, "the crest-jewel of righteous rulers", "thrashing the line of Pāṇḍya kings on the field of battle, terrifying and putting to flight hostile kings, by the might of his arm," ruled the celebrated Nolambavāḍi[1]. The *Jagannātha-Vijaya* (a *campūkāvya* written in Kannaḍa by Rudrabhatta in A. D. 1218) applies the epithet Āri-Kāma-Dhvaṃsi to Vīra-Ballāḷa and states that he "destroyed the enemy Kāma"[2]. An inscription in Belur dated A. D. 1198 informs us that King Ballāḷa "moistening his valiant sword with the blood of his enemy the Pāṇḍya king, he whets it on the grind-stone the head of Billama, and sheathes it in the lotus mouth of Jaitugi"[3]. All these inscriptions lead one to the supposition that Kāma-dēva alias Vijaya Pāṇḍya was killed in the field of battle by Ballāḷa and since the latest date for Vijaya-Pāṇḍya is 1187[4], he was probably killed in about that time. Immediately after this his son Udayāditya apparently allied with Kalachurya Sankama, since his general Mādēva daṇḍanāyaka was encamped together with the Kalachurya general Kāvaṇayya prior to "a victorious expedition of the South"[5]. As we shall later see Ballāḷa defeated Kāvanayya. Udayāditya's latest date is, which he is not heard of. It was in this year that Ballāḷa is said to have had his capital in Noṇambavāḍi[6].

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 137, 175.

[2] Cf. *E. C.*, V, Introd., p. 20, note.

[3] *E. C.*, VI, Tr, 10.

[4] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 505.

[5] *E. C.*, XI, Cd, 13.

[6] Ibib., Cd, 33.

Udayāditya's son Kāmayya was driven out of his capital Uchchangi and in A. D. 1199 we find him residing at Bemmattanūr (Chitaldroog) and governing Haḍuvanagere Five Hundred as a Mahā-Sāmantha and is shorne of all titles of his fore-fathers[7]. Bemmattanūr had been made a capital even during his grand-father's life-time, probably as a refuge during the war with the Hoysaḷas. Vijayāditya and Udayāditya were together residing there for a time[1]. But the Pāṇḍya power in Bemmattanūr was to come to an end soon after, and in about A. D. 1214 we find the great minister, the senior Ballāḷa Daṇḍanāyaka residing at Bemmatūr-paṭṭaṇa as a governor of Ballāḷa II, in which year he made provisions for a temple in Hoḷālkere[2]. Hoḷālkere itself and Honkuṇḍa Thirty were ruled by the great feudatory (under Ballāḷa) Prince Māchi-dēva of the Pallava line, who was assisted in the government by Māreya-Nāyaka, Aggappa-veggaḍe and the royal inspector Vāmana-kramita in A.D. 1205[3]. In A. D. 1217 we find one Aṇṇamarasa governing Hoḷālkere[4]. In about the same time Ballāḷa-Nalli-Śetti, the head jewel of Noṇambavāḍi-nāḍ, one of the "mummuri-daṇḍas of the Five-hundred svamis of Ayyāvaḷe, possessed of five hundred Vīra-śāsanas famed in all the world", was the governor of the ware-houses of Uchchangi under Ballāḷa II[5]. The Emmeganūr-Vṛitti in the Pāṇḍya-nāḍ was ruled by Jakkarasa in A. D. 1220. His forefathers Vaijarasa, Bammarasa and Hariparasa were the "excellent" governors of Emmeganūr during the time of the Pāṇḍyas[6].

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[1] *E. C.*, XI, Hk, 56. Here are mentioned kings like Raya Pandya, and Noleya Pandya, whose descendent was Kama-deva ruling Uchchangi. This leads Mr. Rice to suppose that they were a different line (Introd., p. 16). But I believe that it leads to no such difficulty, since the rule of Uchchangi is specifically mentioned. The inscription is erased in the lines dealing with the chronology. Raya Pandya and others may be only Kama-deva's distant fore-fathers.

[2] Cf. *I. H. Q.*, IV, p. 133.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 77.

[4] *E. C.*, XI, Cd, 33.

[5] Ibid., Dg, 44.

[6] *E. C.*, VI, Mg, 4. Cf. *I. H. Q.*, IV, p. 133.

[7] *E. C.*, XI, Cd, 36.

The reign of Ballāḷa marks the turning point of Hoysaḷa destiny. His conquests over the Kalachuryas, the Yādavas and the Chalukyas decided his supremacy and independence. The Kalachuryas were still holding power when Ballāḷa came to the throne; but the internal religious and political feuds and the constant struggle of the Chalukyas to regain their kingdom had weakened the Kalachuryas. In A. D. 1167[7] Bijjāla had abdicated the throne in favour of his son Sōvi-dēva, and in A. D. 1177 he was succeeded by his brothers Śankama and Ahavamalla.

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[1] Ibid., Cd, 13.

[2] Ibid., Hk, 2.

[3] Ibid., Cd, 23.

[4] Ibid., Hk, 4.

[5] Ibid., Hk, 124.

[6] *E. C.*, XI, Hk, 56.

[7] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 103.

During the constant feuds between the Kalachuryas and Narasiṁha I the latter must have suffered defeat at their hands, because Banavasi and Hangal, which had been partially conquered by Vishṇuvardhana were recaptured during his time by the Kadambas and the Kalachuryas. This victory over the Hoysaḷas led a Kalachurya general to retain the title "displacer of Hoysaṇa" even as late as A.D. 1180[1]. He boasted of having "taken the Chōḷa and Hoysaḷa kingdoms" in A. D. 1181[2]. It is even to be doubted whether Ballāḷa II was not a feudatory of the Kalachuryas. An epigraph at Beḷagamve dated A. D. 1179 gives paramount titles of an independent monarch to Kalachurya Sankama and mentions the Hoysaḷa "Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara" Ballāḷa with his piriya-arasi Rēmādēvi, making a grant to the god Harihareśvara at Kaulūr in the Nizam's Dominions. From this Mr. Fleet supposes that Ballāḷa II was a feudatory of the Kalachuryas[3]. An inscription of A. D. 1181 from the same place associates "those who having given pleasure to Hoysāḷa-Vīra-Ballāḷa, chief among the Malapas, had obtained from him respect and reverenced by all" with the Kalachurya ministers and generals who had joined with their monarch Ahavamalla in making a grant to Gangēśvara at Belagamve[4].

But the value of this evidence must be viewed in the light of Ballāḷa's battles with the Kalachuryas a little before the dates given in the above mentioned inscriptions. In A.D. 1197 Ballāḷa sent an army against Kalachurya Sankama in the battle at Maḍavaḷḷi, where a Hoysaḷa general Bammaṇa pierced the head of Sankama's elephant and died[5]. Ballāḷa was assisted by several of his feudatories among whom Mokhari Lakhaya ruling a part of Nīrgunḍa-nād sent a "trained army" under the command of Goṭṭi Śeṭṭirāya-gaṇḍa and Kanna-gaṇḍa[6]. In the meantime another batch was sent under Babbeya-Nāyaka—"Ballāḷa at Dōraṣamudra sent for him and ordering him to fight against Sankama-dēva, he went and fought with great valour killing several Maṇḍalikas and cutting to pieces numerous warriors so that the battlefield was filled with corpses and streams of blood, and being pierced at the heart by an arrow he fell" [1].

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[1] *E. C.*, IX, Dg, 44.
[2] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 117.
[3] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 487.
[4] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 119.
[5] *E. C.*, VI, Mg, 33.
[6] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 35.

Examining the Belagamve inscriptions we see that the first one is dated in the very year in which the battle took place. Sankama had come to Belagamve in the same year accompanied by his chief officers [2]. These officers figure in the Belagamve inscriptions of A. D. 1179 as having made a grant to the goddess at Belagamve, but the motive of their visit is not known. King Ballāḷa must have taken this opportunity of their sojourn in the South and immediately he marched an army to meet them in the battle, which has just been described; and the battle ultimately must have been decided in his favour, because the Kalachuryas had in view another attack on the Hoysaḷa, in revenge, as we shall see later. Besides, Ballāḷa's titles "Giridurgga-malla" and "Śanivāra siddhi", which he had acquired after winning the battle of Uchchangi in A. D. 1177, and due to this conquest as said in inscriptions [3], were in reality the titles of the Kalachurya kings; and hence there is little doubt that he assumed them after, this battle with the Kalachuryas. But there was a temporary peace and hence the association of the Hoysaḷas with the Kalachuryas in the Belagamve grants. The fact that the presence of Hoysaḷa soldiers was tolerated in Belagamve is a proof of the truce. Very probably the city of Baḷḷigrāme came under the Hoysaḷa power, for in A.D. 1184 Ballāḷa had stationed his general Gōparasa for "protecting Baḷḷigrāme the royal city of Banavase Twelve Thousand" [4]. It may be true that the Kalachuryas had considered the Hoysaḷas to be feudatories, they having occupied the Cha-

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1914-15, p. 53.

[2] *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 96.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 137, 175. The inscriptions are dated after A. D. 1180.

[4] *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 145.

-lukya throne; but Ballāḷa, far from acknowledging their supremacy, was ever on the alert to oust their power, which he was watching with jealousy. Besides he was thirsting for revenge, because they had "treated his father with contempt" [1]. All this led to his sudden attack on the Kalachuryas in A. D. 1179.

In A. D. 1189 Sankama-dēva residing at Kalyāṇa, sent a large army under his great minister Gaṇḍa-peṇḍara, "displacer of Hoysaḷa", Kāvanayya daṇḍanāyaka, who having made a victorious expedition to the South, came to the Banavasi country and surrounded with all the feudatories pitched his camp at Beṭṭanūr [2]. He was apparently marching against Ballāḷa. Ballāḷa immediately marched at the head of a large army against him: "Niśśanka-pratāpa-Hoysaḷa-śri-vīra-Ballāḷa-Ḍēvarasa having marched against Murāri Kēśava-Narasiṅga was encamped at Hadaḍeyakuppa, he ordered the van of the army to attack the enemy, whereupon Gouriya-Malla rushed into the camp of the Kalachurya-bhu-jabaḷa-Chakravarti Bijjaḷa's general the Gaṇḍa-peṇḍara Channa-Kāḷama sāhaṇi, killed many and fell" [3]. This battle decided a signal victory for Ballāḷa; and the Kalachuryas were no more heard of after their defeat. They simultaneously suffered defeat at the hands of the Yādavas and the Chalukyas, as we shall see later, and hence their extinction.

The Kalachurya territory was soon absorbed by Ballāḷa, and by A. D. 1192 Belagamve, an important centre of the Kalachuryas was in his possession. Sāntalige and Banavasi, which had been occupied by Sankama's general Kāvanayya in A. D. 1189 in his expedition against Ballāḷa, were now governed by the Hoysaḷa minister Eṛaga Daṇḍanāyaka [1].

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[1] *I. A.*, II, p. 302.

[2] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 44.

[3] *M. A. R.*, 1917, p. 45. The common title "Ganda-pendara" applied to the Kalachurya general in both the inscriptions and the similarity of the names "Kalama" and "Kavanayya" lead me to infer that the Kalachurya generals in both the inscriptions are one and the same. The date of the Davanagere inscription is however doubtful; A. D. 1189 is added by me from the second inscription which is a viragal dated in that year.

Ballāḷa gained over many of the Kalachurya generals to his side after their fall. In A. D. 1220 after having taken "refuge at the lotus feet of Ballāḷa", Rēcharasa, "the eminent councillor of the Kaḷachurya-kula", obtained a grant from the King and made it over to the Jainas of Arasiyakere and set up the image of Sahasra-Kūṭa Jina. Rēcharasa, apparently a Jaina resident of Arasiyakere, protected the Jaina townspeople of Arasiyakere, and during his time the place was in a very prosperous condition [2]. Another inscription of the same time informs us that Rēcharasa had also set up the god Śānthinātha at Jinanāthapura. Here he is called Vasudhaika-bāndhava Rēchimayya [3].

From the foregoing account it can be seen that the field of contention between the Kalachuryas and the Hoysaḷas lay in Banavasi, Belagamve being an important centre of that province. During the time of Vishṇuvardhana the Hoysaḷas had acquired some territories in this part from the Kadambas, but they were soon lost; and during the time of Narasiṁha it was a bone of contention between the Kadambas, the Chalukyas, the Kalachuryas and the Hoysaḷas. But the Kalachuryas were soon rising into power. In A. D. 1168 the Kalachurya general Kesimaya was appointed as the Governor of Hānuṅgal Five Hundred and Banavasi Twelve Thousand [4]. He continued in that capacity for a long time. He was sent there by Ahavamalla in A. D. 1181, "so that the country may be quiet" [5].

From this evidence it is certain that the Kalachuryas had subdued the Kadambas. Kalachurya inscriptions of the time of Sōvi-dēva mention among their feudatories, "Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara" Permādi and Vijayāditya of the family of the

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[1] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 103.
[2] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 77.
[3] *E. C.*, II, SB, 380.
[4] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XVIII, p. 269.
[5] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 117.

Kadambas of Goa and after them Vijayāditya's son Jayakēśi III[1]. But the Kadambas of Goa were too powerful to be subdued into feudatorship and none of their inscriptions acknowledge the supremacy of the Kalachuryas.

The claim of having burnt the territory of Vijayāditya of the Kadamba line, ruling the Koṅkaṇ, made by Ahavamalla's general Chandugi-dēva in A. D. 1181 speaks of the enmity between them[2].

The Kadambas of Hāngal on the other hand were weakened owing to the incessant feuds with the Hoysaḷas and the Kalachuryas, and hence they were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the latter who had succeeded in ousting the Hoysaḷa and Chalukya power in the Banavasi country, during the time of Narasiṁha I. Kadamba Kīrti-dēva acknowledged the supremacy of Bijjaḷa continuously from about A.D. 1158[3], and Sōvi-dēva also acknowledged the supremacy in A. D. 1171 and 1172[4]. Therefore during this period the Kalachurya kings appointed general Kesimaya as the Governor of Banavasi, Sāntaḷige and other provinces in their interest. By A. D. 1190 Ballāḷa had completely defeated the Kalachuryas and then he proceeded to attack the Kadambas. This was in A. D. 1196 when Kadamba Tailama was ruling.

The preliminary tussle between the Kadambas and the Hoysaḷas seems to have originated in the fort of Udare in Hāngal. A viragal of A. D. 1181 runs thus: "The pratāpa-chakravartti Hoysaṇa bhujabala vīra-Ballāḷa-Raya's great minister Toya-Singeya-daṇṇāyaka, when Basavaiya Nāyaka of Hānungal was inside the guard-house in the Udare fort on the mahā-mahaṇḍalēśvara Baṅka-Nāyaka's son-in-law Gangeya-sāhaṇi, Beyama-sāhaṇi and Jāvaneya-Nāyaka, these three, coming with all appliances and laying siege—he fought, slew, distinguished himself and gained the world of gods"[5]. From this inscription we understand that in A. D.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 23, 51.

[2] Ibid., p. 119.

[3] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 460, 568, 177, 567.

[4] Ibid., Sb, 345, 389. Cf. Moraes, op. cit., p. 138. But Tailama seems to have reverted to his old suzerain the Chalukya king after the downfall of the Kalachuryas in A. D. 1189.

[5] *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 212.

1181 the Udare fort was in the possession of the Hoysaḷas. Probably it was conquered from the Kadambas or from the Kalachuryas before this date. The epithet "Sāhaṇi" belongs to the Kadamba and Kalachurya generals. Most probably the Kadamba or the Kalachurya king had sent his generals to recapture the fort. The Hoysaḷas apparently lost the fort some time after, for in about A. D. 1200 Ballāḷa himself attacked the fort[1] against Kadamba-chakravartti-Kāva-dēvarasa[2].

A viragal of A. D. 1196 at the Tarakēśvara temple in Hāngal records that Hoysaḷa Ballāla had come and pitched his camp at the Ānekere tank (the large tank on the West of Hāngal). He was repulsed by Kāma-dēva's forces under his general Sāhaṇi. Sāhaṇi however was killed in battle as recorded in this viragal[3]. The carving on the viragal gives a graphic illustration of the fort and of the Hoysaḷa attack. Ballāḷa seems to have renewed his efforts, for later inscriptions (A.D. 1203) show that Kāma-dēva was fighting against the Hoysaḷa forces[4]. Mr. Fleet's statement that Ballāḷa "seems to have completely subjugated the Kadambas and annexed their territory"[5] is doubtful. The viragal in front of the Tarakēśvara temple, the text of which is referred to here, could not have been tolerated in its prominet place if it had ever been under the Hoysaḷas.

In A. D. 1196 Kesimaya was still acting as the Heggade of Banavasi-nāḍ under the Kalachuryas[6]. But the Kalachuryas had long been overthrown by Ballāḷa. The position of Kesimaya though nominal speaks of the support given him by Tailama. If Ballāḷa's occupation of Banavasi had been undisputed, Kesimaya would not have been tolerated there. Ballāḷa had however appointed Eṛega Daṇḍanāyaka as his governor in Banavasi and Santalige in A. D. 1192.

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[1] *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 244.

[2] Ibid., Sb, 439.

[3] This viragal is included in *Carnataka-Desa-Inscriptions* (quoted by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 563). It has been newly deciphered. Cf. Moraes, op. cit., p. 453.

[4] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 563.

[5] Ibid., p. 563.

[6] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 188.

[7] Idid., p. 105.

Kāma-dēva was vigorously attempting to regain his lost power. In A. D. 1207 he raided Muvaḍibiḍu[1]. A little later he raided Hāyava and carried off the cows[2]. The Hoysaḷas in turn were retaliating the attacks. Thus in A. D. 1211 when "Kadambachakrēśvara Kāva-deva was ruling Banavase Twelve Thousand in peace and wisdom", Ballāḷa's raiders beseiged Bīraūr in Kabbunāḷige-nāḍ and fought; but Kava-dēva's men, Kancha Gavuṇda and others attacking them at the moment slew and gained the world of gods[3]. There is no doubt that the Hoysaḷas had established a strong government of their own in the Kadamba province. In A. D. 1205 there was even a noble of the Kadamba-vamśa, Kaveḍeya Boppaseṭṭi, ruling Bandhava-nagara in Nāgarkhaṇḍa under Ballāḷa[4]. But the Kadamba rulers were still holding their way over Banavasi. In fact their power lasted to a much later date. There was a Kadamba king Vīra Kāva-dēvarasa with the title Kadamba chakravartti ruling from A. D. 1258 to about 1300, and he seems to have been independent[5]. In A. D. 1300 Ballāḷa III sent an expedition against him[6].

The Chalukyas were in the meantime attempting to regain their power. After the death of Taila III in A. D. 1163 there was an interval of about fifteen years during which time no sign of a Chalukya monarch is seen in the inscriptions. It was only in A. D. 1183 that Taila's son Somēśvara IV made his first appearance with the titles of his forefathers[7]. It was a time when the Kalachuryas were struggling with the Hoysaḷas and the Yādavas, and their kingdom was fast tottering to its grave. Somēśvara took up this opportunity to revive his power and was supported by his able general Brahma. The latter was the son of Kavana-daṇḍanāyaka who had led an expedition on behalf of Kalachurya Sankama against Ballāḷa in A.D. 1189. Brahma himself was a feudatory of Kalachurya Sōvi-dēva in A. D. 1175 [1]. He however rebelled against him in about A. D. 1185 and helped Somēśvara IV to regain his kingdom. He styled himsef "the establisher of Chalukyan Sovereignty", and "a fire of death to the Kalachuryas" [2]. Brahma acted in contempt of his father, as a Hoysaḷa inscription informs us, and took away the sovereignty of the Kalachuryas by seducing the allegiance of some of their forces which were under the command of his own father [3]. Brahma must have gained his victory between A. D. 1180 and 1181, since in A. D. 1180 Sankama-dēva was ruling at Kalyāṇa [4], but in A. D. 1181 the Chalukya king was residing there [5]. It is interesting to note that in the inscription of A. D. 1181 Ballāḷa acknowledges the Chalukya supremacy, though reference to it had completely disappeared in the inscriptions dated after A. D. 1176. This shows that Ballāḷa rejoiced in the displacement of the Kalachurya usurpers, who had at this time become his mortal enemies. It however lasted only for a short time.

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[1] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 171.
[2] Ibid., Sb, 305.
[3] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 59.
[4] *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 225.
[5] *E. C.*, VIII, Sa, 32; Sb, 302.
[6] Ibid., Sa, 45.
[7] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, pp. 461-463.

Somēśvara was for a time ruling at Annigere in Dharwar and then he settled at Kalyāṇa in A. D. 1187 [6] after the Kalachuryas had been completely overthrown. But the continued wars and the political upheaval greatly weakened the power of the Chalukya kingdom, and it soon fell a prey in the hands of the Yādavas in the North and the Hoysaḷas in the South.

The one desire of Ballāḷa and his predecessors had been to free their kingdom from the yoke of Chalukya suzerainty. Ballāḷa suceeded in overthrowing the Kalachuryas, but this was quickly taken advantage of by Chalukya Somēśvara. Ballāḷa had not only been trying to become an independent King but he had a thirst for the extension of his territory in the Chalukya kingdom. He observed with consternation that the Yādavas were fast acquiring the northern portion. The only obstacle that lay in his way of ousting them was the weak Chalukyan power at Kalyāṇi. This he would destroy first. Ballāḷa accordingly pushed on to the north of Dharwar District and defeated Somēśvara's general Brahma, as a Gadag inscription of A. D. 1192 informs us. This epigraph runs as follows: "With one elephant he conquered sixty elephants, and conquered, through his violent onset with cavalry only, the famous general Brahma, whose army was strengthened with numbers of elephants, and seized his kingdom"[1]. This battle must have taken place after A. D. 1187, and before A. D. 1189, since the latest date for Somēśvara is the latter, mentioned in Kadamba Kāma-dēva's record[2]. What became of Somēśvara after this date is not known, but it is probable that he took refuge at Hāngal in the territory of Kāma-dēva[3]. The Chalukyas and Kadambas are mentioned together even as late as A. D. 1300. An inscription of that date informs us that Kadamba Kāva-dēva uniting all the Kadamba chakravartis and Chalukya chakravartis sent an army against Ballāḷa III.[4].

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[1] Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 465.

[2] Cf. Ibid., p. 464.

[3] *I. A.*, II, p. 299.

[4] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 44.

[5] *E. C.*, XII, Ck, 13.

[6] *I. A.*, XIV, p. 14; XII, p. 95.

Ballāḷa soon acquired a large territory in the Chalukya kingdom. A Gadag inscription of A. D. 1191 states that by the favour of the god Narayaṇa he acquired the supremacy over the Kuntala country and the universal sovereignty of the Western Chalukyas[5]. An inscription dated A. D. 1195 informs us that "he was ruling over his kingdom stretching as far as Kalyāṇa under a single umbrella"[6]. After Ballāḷa's conquest of the Chalukya kingdom many of its generals must have come under him. Among them was Ballāḷa Chaḷukēyya "ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom", under whom were ruling the great feudatories Noṇabeya Nāyaka and Māchaya Nāyaka [1].

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[1] *I. A.*, II, p. 299; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, pp. 464, 502.
[2] Fleet, *P. S. and O. C. I.*, No. 90.
[3] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 466.
[4] *E. C.*, VIII, Sa, 45.
[5] *E. I.*, III, p. 217.
[6] *M. A. R.*, 1926, p. 58.

Simultaneously with the Chalukya struggle, Ballāḷa had to stem the tide of the Yādavas who were, as stated before, the rival sharers of Kuntala and the Chalukya territory.

The Yādavas of Dēvagiri, who can be more correctly named as the Sēvaṇas or the Sēvuṇas [2], claimed to have belonged to the Yādava Kula and the Lunar race. From the *Vrathakhaṇḍa* composed by Hēmadri, who was a minister of Yādava Mahādēva, we learn that they were a very ancient line ruling in Dwaraka from where they came to the South [3]. This took place during the time of Mallugi, Bhillama's uncle, when the Chalukyas had been overthrown by the Kalachuryas. The acquisition of a stabilised territory in the South took place during the time of Bhillama, in A. D. 1187, when he made Dēvagiri his capital [4]. Hence the name "Yādavas of Dēvagiri". By this time they had become an independent dynasty, but when they originally came to the South they seem to have been the feudatories of the Chalukyas [5]. When the Chalukyas were overthrown by the Kalachuryas, the Yādavas took this opportunity to encroach upon the Kalachurya dynasty simultaneously with Ballāḷa, with the result that they became the masters of all the Deccan [6]. In A. D. 1189 Bhillama "had become the beloved of the goddess of sovereignty of the Karṇāṭa country and was reigning over the whole kingdom" [7]. But we know that the Pāṇḍyas, the Raṭṭas, the Sīlāhāras and the Kadambas did not acknowledge his sovereignty and consequently a good deal of the central and western portion of the Western Chalukya kingdom remained unsubdued by him [1].

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[1] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 110.

[2] *I. A.*, XXI, p. 119.

[3] Cf. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, III, p. 137.

[4] Ibid., III, p. 148.

[5] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 515.

[6] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, Introd., p. 80.

[7] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 518.

His march of conquest was obstructed by Ballāḷa who was himself coveting the Chalukya kingdom. In about A. D. 1189 he defeated the Chalukya general Brahma, and immediately proceeded against Yādava Bhillama, who had taken possession of the Banavasi country [2]. As suggested by an inscription at Belūr, "moistening his valiant sword with the blood of his enemy, the Pāṇḍya king, he whetted it on the grindstone the head of Bhillama and sheathed it in the mouth of Jaitugi" [3]. He had besides other enemies including the Pāṇḍyas of Gutti, but all of them fell before his invincible army. "When a host of hostile kings with great pride formed a league against him with fixed determination" he "suddenly beseiged and took the forts within Erambarage (Elburga in Nizam's Dominions), the honoured Virāṭa's fort, Gutti, Beḷḷiṭṭage, Rāṭṭapaḷḷi, Soratūr and Kurugōḍ" [4].

The defeat of the Yādavas in the battle of Soratūr (twelve miles South of Gadag) is of great importance. It took place between A.D. 1191 and A.D. 1192. This date can be infered from the fact that in A. D. 1191 the Yādava general Jaithrasiṁha had made a grant to the ascetic Satyavākya for the god Trikuṭēśvara at Kratuka, while King Ballāḷa made a grant to the same temple and the same priest in A.D. 1192 [5]. The preliminary battle at Soratūr took place just before this date, when Ballāḷa defeated Bhillama's general, Jaithrasiṁha or Jaithiśiva; but he immediately returned South and was stationed at Haḷḷivūr or Haḷḷavūr, midway between Belligamve and Uchchangi, on the bank of the Tungabhadrā [6].

In connection with this battle an inscription of A.D. 1190 poetically describes the havoc played by the Hoysaḷas. "In order further to sow the seeds of the growth of his glory, this emperor of the south prepared the ground by his conquest, and from Soṛatūr as far as Beḷvoḷa made it fit for being turned up by the plough-shares of the cultivators, having manured it with the bodies of the myriad brave warriors of Sēvuṇa army"[1]. Haḷḷavūr or Vijayasamudra, where Ballāḷa was residing, had formerly been the residence of the Sinda chieftains[2]. These had sided the Chalukya King against Vishṇuvardhana. Ballāḷa first stepped into their kingdom in A.D. 1186[3], after which he took for himself the residence of Haḷḷavūr. It is to be supposed that Ballāḷa had strongly garrisoned the fort of Soṛatūr. But the Yādavas again marched there with a large force consisting of 200,000 infantry and 12,000 horse headed by the general Sōma Nṛipa; but Ballāḷa on his single elephant routing that immense army of Sōma Nṛipa pursued him and stopping him between Soṛatūr and Kṛishṇaveṇi slew him: "with the army of Sōmaṇa, he fought in the battle-field till the earth could not longer drink in the streams of blood which covered it and the paths were choked with headless bodies"[4]. Ballāḷa's routing the whole Sēvuṇa army with his single elephant is emphasised in many inscriptions[5], but this can be nothing more than an exaggeration. Bhillama himself is said to have taken part in the battle; perhaps he had marched with a fresh army when he heard that his general Sōma was being driven away. A sanguinary battle took place on the banks of the Kṛishṇa. We are told that out of the total number of cavalry which the Sēvuṇa King took with him to fight, five parts fell into the river, six fled away in all directions, four fell in the battle, four returned back, and Bhillama fled in confusion from the battle-field with the remaining six hundred horsemen:

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 188.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 77.

[4] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 25.

[5] *E. I.*, III, pp. 217, 218.

[6] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 249.

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[1] Ibid., Cn, 179. Mr. A. Venkatasubiah ascribes this to the great battle of A.D. 1192. *J. I. H.*, IV, p. 124.

[2] *E.C.*, XI, Dg, 43, dated 1164.

[3] *I. A.*, V, p. 173.

[4] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 32.

[5] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 140; *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1914, p. 103.

"He turned his back and fled in fear"[1]. During their flight the Yādavas however took refuge at Lokkiguṇḍi (six miles east of Gadag), where probably Bhillama reinforced his army. Here another battle took place in which Mahāsāmanta Kāmeya Nāyaka, a famous warrior of Ballāḷa was killed[2].

Bhillama is said to have "turned his back and fled in fear". Yet we know that A. D. 1191-92 was the last year of his reign after which he was succeeded by his son Jaitugi. It is therefore probable that Bhillama was killed in battle. This is suggested in an inscription at Aṇṇīgere, dated A. D. 1202[3], and by the Belūr inscription which says that Ballāḷa whetted his sword on the "grind-stone *(i. e.)* the head of Bhillama"[4].

The battle of Soraṭūr was decisive, but it did not make Ballāḷa's claim to Kuntala undisputed. Simultaneously with this battle, Ballāḷa is said to have captured Virāṭa-rāja's city, Kuṛugōḍu, the Mātaṅga hill, Dhorevaḍi, Gutti, Guttavoḷalu, Udhare, Kālaḍi, Bhandaṇikke, Hāluve, Mānuve and Lokkiguṇḍi[5]. His northern boundary was advanced to the Bhīmarati[6]. The Gutta fort, which Ballāḷa claims to have conquered at this time, was the residence of Vikramāditya II of the Guttavaṁśa, who was said to be ruling the Banavasi province. It is doubtful whether Ballāḷa reduced him to feudatorship, since a Gutta inscription even of A.D. 1213 does not mention any paramount sovereign[7]. Many of Ballāḷa's claims were anticipated, for example Virāṭa's city, *i. e.* Hāngal, was attacked only in A. D. 1196.

Ballāḷa's clash with Bhillama's successor, Jaitugi, offers much ambiguity owing to the similarity of his name to that of the Yādava general Jaithrasiṁha. Many scholars including Dr. Kielhorn suggest that Jaithrasiṁha may be identified with Bhillama's son [1]. If this be so Jaitugi took an important part in the battle of Soṛatūr in A. D. 1190. It is important to note that Jaitugi defended the fort of Lokkiguṇḍi, which seemed invulnerable "with high ramparts and lofty bastions on which were mounted astonishing flag-staves" [2].

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[1] From the *Vyavahara ganita* quoted in *J. I. H.*, IV, p. 126.

[2] *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 37.

[3] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 504.

[4] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 77.

[5] Ibid., Cn, 179.

[6] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 43.

[7] Fleet, *P. S. and O. C. I.*, No. 234.

After this conquest Ballāḷa is often found residing at Lokkiguṇḍi [3]; the latest dates of his residence there being A. D. 1199 and 1203 [4]. This city he had made his camp for his northern expeditions [5].

Ballāḷa had at this time established several residences in Kuntala so as to consolidate his empire. In A. D. 1196 he was living at Erambarage (Elburga in the Nizam's Dominions) [6]. In A. D. 1198 he was residing at Kukkanūr-koppa [7]. In A. D. 1199 at Huligere [8]. In the beginning of the thirteenth century he was mostly at his residence at Vijayasamudra which was called his royal city, *rājadhāni*. It was also called Vijayapura or Haḷḷivūr [9]. Here he had stayed in A. D. 1190 after defeating Jaithrasiṁha at Soṛatūr [10].

Though Ballāḷa had defeated the Chalukyas in A. D. 1189 and gained independence, he assumed the paramount titles only after the battle of Soṛatūr. He first assumed the title "Niśśaṅkapratāpa-chakravartti" in A. D. 1190 [11]. The titles which he assumed subsequently were Samasta Bhuvanācharya, Śri prithivi-vallabha, Mahārājadhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭaraka, Pratāpa Chakravarti, Bhujabala Chakravarti,

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[1] *E. I.*, III, p. 218.
[2] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 5.
[3] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 106.
[4] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 47; VI, Kd, 36.
[5] *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 105.
[6] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 104.
[7] Ibid., Bl, 77.
[8] Ibid., Ak, 103.
[9] Ibid., Cn, 172, 244; Ak, 137.
[10] Ibid., Cn, 249.
[11] Ibid., Cn, 179.

Bhujabala-pratāpa Chakravarti, Hoysaḷa Chakravarti, Bhujabala Pratāpa-Hoysaḷa Chakravarti, Yādava Chakravarti and Yādava Narayaṇa. Bhujabala proudha-pratāpa Chakravarti and Yādava Narayaṇa were the titles of the Yādava kings. He even established a reckoning of his own, running from the first year of his reign as paramount sovereign, which the records show as Śaka-Samvat 1114=A. D. 1191-92[1]. He was now styled as the sole emperor of the Seven-and-a-half Lakh Country (which title had belonged to the Chalukyas)[2], and the Emperor of the South[3]. But by the word "south" he certainly did not mean the territory south of Mysore, since so far Madura and other kingdoms of the South were not invaded by the Hoysaḷas.

The meaning of his title is clearly expressed in an inscription in Channarayapatna Taluqua, which says that Ballāḷa was "ruling the southern circle of the earth"[4]. He also assumed the title of Malaparōḷ-gaṇḍa, with which he signed the documents. This curious signature was used by his descendents, and Somēśvara signed even the Tamil grants in bold Kanarese letters ಮಲಪರೊಳ್ಗಂಡ. The meaning of this expression is not clear; it might mean "the destroyer of Malapas" (the hill tribes) or, if read 'Malavaroḷ-gaṇḍa' "the destroyer of Malawaras", in which case it is exactly equivalent to "Malavara Māri", which was the title of the Goa Kadamba Jayakēśi III[5].

After the signal defeat at the hands of the Hoysaḷas Jaitugi was engaged in bitter conflict with the Kākatiyas[6]. But after the death of Jaitugi his successor Singhana turned his attention to the reconquest of Kuntala. During this time as stated above, Ballāḷa was mostly residing at

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[1] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 137. The 15th year of the Yadava Emperor Ballala Krodha corresponds to A. D. 1205.

[2] *E. C.*, VII, Ci, 64.

[3] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 140.

[4] *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 37.

[5] *I. A.*, II, p. 303. Cf. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 200.

[6] Aiyer, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, I, p. 281.

Vijayasamudra on the banks of the Tungabhadrā. In A. D. 1212 Singhana marched on this city[1], and attacked the Hoysaḷas. In the battle that ensued Banaka, a Hoysaḷa warrior, stabbed Singhaṇa's horse and died[2]. The Yādavas apparently conquered, since in A. D. 1213 we find Singhana making a grant to the god Trikuṭēśvara, in the Belvola Three Hundred, which he is said to have been governing[3]. The temple of Trikuṭēśvara is at Gadag. It shows a Hoysaḷa inscription dated a little previous to A. D. 1213 commemorating Ballāḷa's conquests over the Yādavas[4]. This clearly shows that the Yādavas had recovered at least some of the territory south of the Malaprabha and the Kṛishṇa[5]. In A. D. 1217 Singhana styled himself as "a rutting elephant in destroying the lotus garden Ballāḷa Rāya". In this year he was ruling the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, and under him the great minister and Senādhipathi Dasavanta-Daṇṇāyaka was posted as the Sarvādhikari of Banavasi-nāḍ at the Uddare fort[6].

The inscription which gives this information associates Ekkalarasa with a religious grant made at Uddare. Ekkalarasa or Eraga Chamupa was appointed the Governor of Banavasi in A. D. 1192-1193 with his capital at Ballipura (or Belagamve) which was a royal city *(rājadhāni)*[7]. The same year Ballāḷa paid a visit to Banavasi[8] and after that in A. D. 1194 we find Padmi-dēva as the Governor of Banavasi under him[9]. In A. D. 1205 he appointed Ronnappa Arasa as the Governor of the same province[10]. The dismissal of Ekkalarasa and his friendly relationship with the Yādavas in A. D.

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 137.
[2] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 376.
[3] *I. A.*, II, p. 297.
[4] Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*, p. 112.
[5] Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 506.
[6] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 135.
[7] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 105 *E.*; *C.*, VII, Sk, 105.
[8] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 30.
[9] *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 138.
[10] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 137.

1217 clearly show that he had rebelled against his overlord and joined the enemy, thus assisting the latter to conquer the Uddare fort. This fort had been the bone of contention, as previously described, between the Hoysaḷas and the Kadambas of Hāngal in A. D. 1181 and 1200, and it had very probably come under the Hoysaḷas after that date. But Singhaṇa must have conquered it from the Hoysaḷas in A. D. 1217 and appointed his own Governor there to rule Banavasi Twelve Thousand. In A. D. 1216 Singhaṇa even assumed Ballāḷa's title "Śanivāra Sidhi"[1], which clearly indicates the former's conquest over the latter. The death of Ballāḷa in A. D. 1220 encouraged the Yādavas to encroach upon the Hoysaḷa territories further down as will be seen in the next chapter.

The last date for Ballāḷa falls in A. D. 1220[2]. The same year "being of full age having established Narasiṁha in the Kingdom", he went to heaven and Narasiṁha celebrated the festival of his coronation[3]. At the time of Ballāḷa's death his favourite minister Kuvara-Lakshma, with his wife Suggaladēvi and his heroes or followers "bound to him to the number of one thousand" "mounted up on the splendid stone pillar, covered with poetical vīra-śāsana, proclaiming his devotion to his master. And on the pillar they became united with Lakshmī and with Garuḍa." The love between Ballāḷa and Kuvara-Lakshma is thus described: "As if the king's palace were his cradle, the king's bounty the oil for his mouth, his nurses the members of the king's female apartments—thus did King Ballāḷa cherish Kuvara-Lakshma-daṇḍadhīśa as a son. Guru and deity alike was his ruler; both for this world and the next no other god had he—Kuvara-Lakshma-Daṇḍadhīśa"[4]. The śila-śāsana which narrates this self-sacrifice of a thousand heroes is inscribed on a pillar in the Hoysalēśvara temple at Haḷebidu. Around the inscription are carved eight male figures cuttig off their own heads with swords. One figure affords an illustration of the practice of offering the "the springing head" (siditale gōḍu). The figure is seated with folded hands, in front of a bowed elastic rod with the severed head springing up with the rebound of the rod. Another figure holds its own head, which has been cut off, by the hair with the left hand; still another figure is in the act of cutting off the head, the top knot of the hair being held with the left hand. The others are in various stages of preparation for the self-sacrifice. Most of the figures wear a *toḍar* or badge on the left leg as a mark of devotion to their master and determination to die with him[1]. The significance of the *toḍar* is described in the inscription itself. These warriors had vowed themselves, "as Garuḍas," to live and die with the King. The Garuḍa or the kite is the bird of Vishṇu. Mr. Rice conjectures that the bodies of these heroes were left to be devoured by kites and vultures[2].

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[1] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 398.

[2] *E. C.*, VII, Ci, 6.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 211b and 172b.

[4] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 112.

Thus in A. D. 1220 ended Ballāḷa's glorious reign of forty-three years. Though he suffered a little defeat at the hands of the Yādavas towards the close of his reign, yet he made an empire for himself and brought about the realization of independence which had been the one aim of his forefathers. His military achievements were a favourite theme for poets, and his personality an object of terror to his enemies who were "even to this day (A. D. 1262) thrown into a fever on hearing his name whispered in their ears, and his subjects had not yet forgotten him as the granter of all their desires"[3]. His popularity can be estimated from the fact that a new rod of measurement was named after him and was called *drōharamalla*[4]. Thus he ended his reign in glory and peace "surrounded with sons, grandsons, feudatories and ministers"[5]. It has been rightly said of him that he was the "actual maker of Mysore"[6].

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1910-11, p. 8.

[2] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 187.

[3] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 271.

[4] 83 of 1912.

[5] *E. C.*, VII, Sh, 54.

[6] Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 250.

Ballāḷa had more than seven queens. When he was a crown prince he is said to have been ruling with his Queen Mahā-dēvi[1]; but this may be only a title meaning "great lady." She was perhaps the same as Bammala-dēvi who makes her first appearance in the inscriptions in A. D. 1174[2]. By A. D. 1179 Ballāḷa must have had other queens since an inscription of that date styles Bammala as a rutting elephant and mirror to the faces of co-wives[3]. She was a "passed mistress in singing, playing music and dancing"[4]. Her pedigree was poor without having any titles of nobility. Her father was Mokhari Lakhayya, the son of Vallipayya, her mother Sōmavve, and her elder brother Māila Nāyaka[5].

In A. D. 1184 Ballāḷa had made great gifts in order to obtain *Śānti* (deliverence from any threatened calamity) for Chikka Bammāla-dēvi[6]. The inscription does not mention that she was a queen. From the term Chikka or Junior it is to be infered that she was a Junior Queen of Ballāḷa or perhaps his daughter by Bammala.

Umā-dēvi was the Senior Queen and crowned consort of Ballāḷa and seems to have enjoyed a much higher rank in the female apartments than Bammala[7]. Kesimayya, a nobleman, was her house-hold officer in A. D. 1175[8]. In A. D. 1209 she was ruling the Magure Three Hundred, and was helped in the government by the great minister Kumāra-Paṇḍitayya Daṇṇāyaka who is said to have been "the promotor of the senior queen and crowned consort Umā-dēvi's kingdom"[9]. His son Hoḍeya-Biṭṭayya also was associated in the kingdom. A Channarayapatna epigraph describes Paṇḍiteyya Daṇṇāyaka as the son of Umā-dēvi[10]. This is

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 110.
[2] *Ibid.*, Cn, 229.
[3] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 35.
[4] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 254.
[5] *Ibid.*, Cn, 254; III, Mg, 9.
[6] *E. C.*, VI, Tk, 15.
[7] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 40.
[8] *M. A. R.*, 1926, p. 61.
[9] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 40.
[10] *Ibid.*, Cn, 172.

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probably only a term of endearment and cannot be taken literally. Umā-devi's father was the royal inspector Kēśava Dēva [1].

An inscription dated about A. D. 1200 brings to our notice, another Senior Queen and crowned consort Chōḷa-mahā-dēvi. We have a touching story regarding this Queen. When she was ruling Kembāḷa it was reported to her that some wicked persons at Bēvūru had used hard words about her, whereupon she ordered her favourite warrior Mācheya-Nāyaka's son Kētamalla to assault Bēvūru. But in the battle that ensued Māchaya was killed. Feeling compunction for the tragic end of her favourite servant she sent for her treasuerer Rāyaṇṇa and said; "We have caused pain to our children; you go and encourage them with our words, and in the presence of the sixty families of Kembāḷa, console Kētamalla-Nāyaka's son Narasiṁha-Nāyaka, and make to him the grant of a *koḍagi*" [2]. Ballāḷa's union with this Queen throws light on the diplomatic relationship with the Chōḷas.

Queen Kētala-dēvi also played an important part in the government of her lord's empire. In A. D. 1195 she was carrying on the Government [3]. Mr. Rice presumes that she was the regent while the King was engaged in distant expeditions [4]

A Shikarpur inscription dated A. D. 1207 introduces us to the Senior Queen Abhinava-Kētala-mahādēvi [5], which means the new Kētala-dēvi. She was probably different from the Kētala-dēvi mentioned previously. The inscription informs us that Abhinava-Kētala-dēvi approved of the grant of Bhandalike made by her brother Mādhava Daṇṇāyaka. In A.D.1218 she ordered the Gauḍas and Seṭṭis of Kundavāḍa (in Uchchaṅgi-nāḍ) to establish a Wednesday fair [6].

Queen Padmala gave an heir to the throne. She was the *Paṭṭadarasi* or the Crowned Queen of Ballāḷa [7]. From the year A. D. 1210, inscriptions inform us, she and her son prince Narasiṁhā were assisting Ballāḷa in the government of his Kingdom[1]. In A.D. 1212 when Ballāḷa was at Vijayasamudra, Padmala-dēvi was ruling at Hosa-Haḍaṅgili (the present Hire Hadagalli)[2]. She was assisted in her Government by her pergade "the great minister, Śrikarṇa, general inspector, mane-veggaḍe, mahā-pasāyita, ruler of many countries, Master over seventy-two officials" Nāgaṇṇa. He was styled, the "enjoyer of the council of Padmala mahādēvi[3]. An inscription of A. D. 1178 introduces us to another Queen of Ballāḷa known as Śantaḷa-dēvi[4] while another of A. D. 1218 brings to light one Baichala-mahādēvi, who is said to be the queen of Ballāḷa[5]. Tuḷuvala-dēvi was the Senior Queen" of Ballāḷa in A. D. 1189[6]. She was perhaps the same whom Mr. Fleet identifies with the daughter of the Gutta-prince Vīra-Vikramāditya II[7]. Ballāḷa had another queen, Pāṇḍya-dēvi, "born of the Mānabharaṇa family of the Pāṇḍyas, who are a branch of the Lunar race of world wide repute", who possessed all imperial titles and were known as Vikrama-chakravartins[8]. These kings were apparently not the same as those of Uchchaṅgi. It may be suggested that Pāṇḍya-mahādēvi was a relative of Tuḷuvala-dēvi of the line of the Gutti Pāṇḍyas.

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[1] Ibid., Ak, 90.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 205.

[3] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 157, 158.

[4] *Ibid.*, Introd., p. 18.

[5] *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 235.

[6] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 105.

[7] *Ibid.*, Hl, 13.

The King Arjunavarman of Dhāra, the descendant of Bhōja had a wife named Sarvakala, who is said to be the daughter of the King of Kuntala. Dr. Hultzsch, identifies the King of Kuntala with Ballāḷa II[9]. But this title was owned by the Hoysaḷas, the Yādavas, and the fallen line of the Chalukyas; and as such the suggestion seems to be far-fetched.

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[1] *E. C.*, XI, Hl, 14.
[2] Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, I, p. 277, and *Madras Reports on Epigraphy*, 1915, p, 114.
[3] *E. C.*, XII, Gb, 11.
[4] Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, I, p. 16.
[5] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 129.
[6] *M. A. R.*, 1910-11, p. 45.
[7] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 583.
[8] *M. A. R.*, 1923, p. 36.
[9] *E. I.*, VIII, p. 101.

The wealth of Ballāḷa's court evidently increased after his conquests. This is evidenced by the number of Masters of Robes that he had employed to manage his private-apartments. In A. D. 1186 Mayileya-Nāyaka was the Master of Robes and was governing Kabbaḷi "for his livelihood" [1]. In A. D. 1196 Kūsadallayya of Motta was occupying that post[2], while an inscription of A. D. 1206 brings to light the Master of Robes Sāmanta-Kāḍeya-Nāyaka, who was ruling the Keṟegōḍu-nāḍ He styles himself "the champion over feudatories who conspire in secret", "champion over feudatories who turn back when their men run, (and) Vīra-Bāllāḷa-Dēva's lusty elephant" [3]. An inscription of A. D. 1209 introduces to us the Great Master of Robes Nāgayya who was a "perfect Rēvanta in riding the most vicious horses". He was ruling Sātiyabbegeṟe which had been given him by the King free of all imposts [4]. Mention has been made of two other Masters of Robes in inscriptions dated A. D. 1210, and A. D. 1215 [5]. Inscriptions also have brought to light two door-keepers: Ballāḷa-Sōviaṇṇa and Sāvanta Mārayya [6]. In A. D. 1218 the "Chief favourite" Jaya-Bhaṭṭayya-Nāyaka was the Chief Master of the Robes. He claims to have been the descendant of a rāja of the Kāśmīra country [7].

Among the feudatories of Ballāḷa the Ganga princes of Asandi-nāḍ and the Huliyera chiefs were in a prosperous condition and they remained faithful to their over-lord. In A. D. 1180 Kongulivarmma-dharmma-mahārājādhirāja Bammarasa-dēva of Āsandi died in a battle and as a sign of grief his faithful servant Bammeya-Nāyaka performed self-sacrifice[1]. The same year Bammarasa was succeeded by his son Narasiṁha-bhūpa[2]. Narasiṁha had allied with Ballāḷa in reducing the northern forces: "the master of elephants the Mālava King, the Lāḷa King with his warriors, shining with masses of horsemen the Gūrjara King, and the Chōḷa King—he opposed, attacked, and on the field of battle fought by himself on receiving the order from King Ballu". Under Narasiṁha, Mudugere Rāma Gauṇḍa was occupying the position of Mahā-nāḷprabhu[3].

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 263.
[2] Ibid., Ak, 178.
[3] Ibid., Cn, 265.
[4] Ibid., Ak, 59.
[5] *E. C.*, XI, Hl, 14; Mk, 12 (The names are erased).
[6] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 188; VII, Sh, 88.
[7] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 61.

In Huliyera the Mahā-Sāmantha Gōvi-dēva was succeeded by his son Ballāḷa who we find was ruling in A. D. 1181[4], his senior queen and crowned consort being Marauvve-dēvi[5]. He claims to have trampled on Chōḷa and Kaḷiṅga, thrown down the Māḷava army, destroyed the army of Nēpāḷa and plundered and driven away Pāṇḍya[6]. Sāmanta Ballāḷa was succeeded by his son Vīra-Narasiṁha-dēva[7].

Among other feudatories of Ballāḷa we find Māraiyane "of the first tribute" ruling Kiḷalai-nāḍu in Muḍigoṇḍa Sōḷa-Maṇḍalam, who in A. D. 1196 agreed to pay certain specified taxes to Ballāḷa[8]; "the great feudatory, a sun to the archers, lord of Kannambi", Dekayya Nāyaka; the great lord Naneyavaru, the ruler of Kabbu-nāḍu. It was the custom to appoint an official as a political Agent to control the feudatories[9]. In A. D. 1193 this office was occupied by Hariyaṇṇa ruler of Hinchanūr, who was entitled "the Superintendent of honourable great feudatories, Mahā-pasāyita, Master of policy"[10].

Ballāḷa had appointed a large number of ministers to cope with his growing need of the extensive Government.

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[1] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 146.
[2] *E. C.*, VII, Ci, 73.
[3] *Ibid.*, Ci, 64.
[4] *E. C.*, XII, Ck, 13.
[5] Ibid., Ck, 14.
[6] Ibid., Ck, 17.
[7] Ibid., Ck, 16.
[8] *E. C.*, IX, Cp, 72.
[9] Such an office is implied by the title "Mahasamanthadhipati".
[10] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 58.

Chandramauḷi, was the Mahā-pradhāni and the palace pergaḍe. He is said to have been an "eminent statesman" and learned in logic, Bharata Śāstra, "high-class literature" and various arts. He was a Brahman and a Śaiva by faith, but his wife Āchiyakka was a devout Jaina, and a descendent of the royal line of Māsavāḍi Kings. In A. D. 1181 Āchiyakka caused to be erected the Pārśvanātha-basadi at Belgola, now known as Akalanka-basadi [1].

Keśi Rāja was the great minister and master over seventy-two officials. His fore-fathers had been in the service of the former Hoysaḷa Kings. "When the Hoysaḷa line began, then Kēśi-Rāja's line began. Can those new generals whose line began but yesterday be compared with him ? ". Vinayāditya's councillor was Rāma-daṇḍadhipa; his son Śrīdhara was Ereyanga's minister, his sons Mallinātha, Dāmarāja and Kēśava Rāja, served under Vishṇuvardhana; Mallidēva's three sons Mādhava; Beṭṭarasa and Dāma were the ministers of Narasiṁha; Bettarasa's sons Mādhava, Āchaṇa, Dāvarasa, Harihara and Kēśava, became the renowned ministers of Ballāḷa. In A. D. 1210 Keśi Rāja made Pañjāḍi-Beḷgali in Nirggunda-nāḍ an agrahāra named Kēśavapura, built the tank Kēśava-Samudra and erected god Kēśavēśvara [2].

Amita-daṇṇāyaka was a fovourite among the people owing to his generous dispositions; he was a "*gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa* and master of all manner of designs", and he was honoured by the assembly of the wise. He seems to have been a voluptuary since he had women of many nationalities in his possession. He built the Amritēśvara temple at Terikere in A. D. 1196, which though now in ruins, displays a wealth of minute carvings rarely surpassed in the historical monuments of Mysore [3].

Bharatameya-daṇṇāyaka and Bāhubali-daṇṇāyaka were the Sarvādhikaries, treasurers of the jewels and commanders of the life-guard. They were descendents of Mariyāne and were zealous patrons of Jainism like their fore-fathers. In A. D. 1184 Ballāḷa renewed the grant of Sindagere on them "which belonged to their family"[1].

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[1] *E. C.*, II, 327 (124); III, Ml, 54; V, Cn, 150.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 244. Cf. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 74-76.

[3] *E. C.*, VI, Tk, 45.

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[1] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 32. Among other ministers and generals, we find Achiraja (1175: *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 53), great Ministers Eriyanna and dannayaka Balagovindarasa (1180: *E. C.*, X, Gd, 41), Ministers Kuruvali Perumale and Ballala Mantri (1217: *E. C.*, V, Bl, 224), Malli Setti, Protector of Bandanika (1204: *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 229), Great Minister Malleya dannayaka (1203: *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 244), Great minister Toya Singeya (1181: *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 212), Machimayya, Great Minister ruling Konga-nad (1189: *E. C.*, V, Ag, 79), Great Minister Billa Chokkayya (1200: *E. C.*, IV, Ch, 204), Ministers Tipparasa, Bairava, and Bommarasa (1196: *E. C.*, IX, Nl, 82.), Masana Dannayaka (*Madras Report of Epigraphy*, 1914. p. 103). Treasurer Brahmana Singeya (1209: Rangacharya, op.cit. I, p. 285), Councillor Recharasa (1220: *E.* C., V, Ak. 77), Senior Dannayaka Devapayya who had formerly been under Vishnuvardhana (1180, *E. C.*, Ak, 129), Great Minister Mahadeva (1174. *E. C.*, V, Ak, 69), Minister for Peace and War Naranimayya (1178: *E. C.*, V, Cn, 220), Minister Nagadeva (*E. C.*, II, 335 (130), Minister Kumara Panditeya (1208: *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 117,) Hulla, formerly Minister of Narasimha, his brother Kantimayya, ministers Chakkanna and Hariyanna (*E. C.*, IV, Ng, 30). General Bittimayya (*E. C.*, III, My, 8), Great Minister Ketayanna (1177: *E. C.*, Ak, 112), Minister Tantrapala Permadi (1177: *E. C.*, V, Bl, 86), Minister Babeya, 1208: (*E. C.*, XI, Hr, 18), Soma dannayaka (1214: *E. C.*, XI, Hl, 2), Todapille dannayaka (1175: *E. C.*, VII, Hl, 45), Ministers Govindamayya, Naga Rudramayya and Kalamayya (1175: *E. C.*, V, Hn, 75), Minister Buchi Raja (1173: *E. C.*, V, Hn, 119), Polalva dannayaka (1224: *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 25), Kirti-Gaunda dannayaka (1208: *E.C.*, VIII, Sb, 28), Mahasamantha Kallaya-Nayaka, (1200: *E. C.*, X, Gd, 51), Mahasamanthadhipati Holalkere (1193: *E. C.*, XI, Hr, 70).

CHAPTER XI

Narasimha II. A D. 1220-1235

Contemporaries:
Yādava King:—
Siṅghaṇa, A. D. 1210-1247.
Chōḷa King:—
Rājarāja III, A. D. 1216-1243.
Pāṇḍya King of Madura:—
Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, A. D. 1216-1237.
Kāḍava King:—
Perunjinga-dēva.

Ballāḷa was succeeded by his son Narasiṁha II, and though he sat on the throne for a short period of fifteen years yet by his military prowess and international policy he proved himself worthy of his great lineage. He was born in the Śaka year 1105 (A. D. 1183). Ballāḷa made "great gifts" on the occasion of the birth of a crown prince, one of which being the renewal of the grant of Sindagere on Bhāratameya and Bāhubali daṇṇāyakas[1]. An inscription dated about A. D. 1189 describes him (Kumāra Vīra-Narasiṅga-dēva) as ruling the kingdom of the world[2]. But at this time he was only six years old and hence he could not have been able to descharge the duties of a Yuvarāja. The earliest inscriptions that inform us of his association with Ballāḷa in the government of the kingdom are dated in the year A. D. 1205[1], at which time he was twenty-two years old. Sometimes Ballāḷa, his crowned Queen Padmala-mahādēvi and their son Kumāra Narasiṁha-dēva, were together ruling the kingdom[2]. Narasiṁha had at this time under him the great feudatory Māchi-dēva who was ruling Holāḷkere-nāḍ and Honkuṇḍa-Thirty. It is interesting to note that Māchi-dēva belonged to the Pallava line[3]. In A. D. 1220 Ballāḷa "being of full age" established Narasiṁha in the kingdom and went to heaven[4], and Narasiṁha was crowned on the 16th of April 1220[5]. Thus a Belūr inscription dated in Śaka year 1143 informs us that it was the "first year" of Narasiṁha's reign[6]. Here his mother Padmala-dēvi is associated with him in making a grant to the Kedareśvara temple built by Abhināva Kēṭala-dēvi the junior queen of Ballāḷa.

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[1] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 32.
[2] *E. C.*, IX, Kn, 67.

We have seen that at the end of Ballāḷa's reign the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa had encroached on the northern territory of the Hoysaḷas. Siṅghaṇa was a very ambitious king and throughout his reign he was engaged in wars of aggression. Before A. D. 1220 he had subjugated the Śīlāhāra territory and defeated Bhōja II of the Karāḍ branch[7], while his general Vīchaṇa subjugated the central, western and south-western portions of the Chalukya kingdom including the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and the Kadambas of Goa; and he was also engaged in wars with the Hoysaḷas and the Pāṇḍyas of Gutti in the Nolambavāḍi province; he claims to have carried his invasion so far as to set up a pillar of victory in the neighbourhood of the river Kavēri[8].

The Gutti king Vikramāditya II whom Ballāḷa claims to have defeated was practically independent till the end of his reign, but his successor Jōyidēva was apparently a feudatory of Yādava Siṅghaṅa[1]: while Sāntalige which so long had been claimed to be one of the provinces of the Hoysaḷas was now under one Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Bīra-dēvarasa of the Sāntara line who did not acknowledge the suzereinty of the Hoysaḷa king[2]. This critical situation in the north greatly weakened the Hoysala power, and here Narasiṁha first directed his attention to the subjugation of the Yādavas, before marching into the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries[3]. "His sword, which he had soiled with brains of Vikramapāla and Pāvusa, he chansed with the hot blood of Makara; and setting up Chōḷa. . . he acquired fame as the establisher of Chōḷa and the destroyer of Pāṇḍya. First he slew Vikrama-pāla and Pāvusa in one direction, and then in another direction he made the Kaḍava Rāya, Magara and Pāṇḍya king roll on the ground"[4]. Thus it is clear that Narasiṁha first fought with the Yādavas and then marched south. The second inscription quoted in this chapter gives its date as A. D. 1224, therefore Narasiṁha must have defeated the Yādava generals Vikrama-pāla and Pavusa before that date. The Yādavas had at this time acquired some territories south of the Krishna. For instance the area now comprising the Sorab Taluk which had been under Ballāḷa in A. D. 1208, was by the year A. D. 1223 under Siṅghaṅa[5].

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[1] *E. C.*, XI, Cd, 23.
[2] *Ibid.*, Ak, 13 and 14.
[3] *Ibid.*, Cd, 23.
[4] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 211.
[5] *Ibid.*, Cn, 172.
[6] *Ibid.*, Bl, 115.
[7] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 524.
[8] *J. B. R. A. S.*, XV, p. 385.

It is not known when the Hoysalas and Yādavas met in battle; but we are only informed that the "multitudinous forces of the brave Sēvuna army . . . were laying seige"[6]; while a Hassan inscription says "I will only describe how the Sēvunas coming against him (Narasiṁha), in vexation died"[7]. Another inscription at Hassan tells us that Narasiṁha went on an expedition to the north and that he filled the Tungabhadra with the blood of the Sēvunas[1]. It is therefore evident that the Yādavas had encroached south in the Hoysala territory along the Tungabhadra river, between Uchchangi and Bankapura and beseiged some important Hoysala territory there. This necessitated Narasiṁha's march northwards to drive them back.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 383.
[2] *E. C.*, VIII, Nr, 8, Sa, 1.
[3] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 113.
[4] *Ibid.*, Bl, 74.
[5] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 25.
[6] Cf., *E. C.* VIII, Sb, 305, 307, 308.
[7] *E. C.*, III, Md, 121.
[8] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 25.

The Yādava army was led by the generals Vikrama-pāla and Pāvusa. In the battle that ensued the Hoysalas were completely victorious; they drove away the Yādavas and killed their generals. "On his expedition to the north the Tungabhadra was filled to the banks with streams of blood, and by his slaughter of Vikrama-pāla and Pāvusa and others, he filled the abodes of the celestial nymphs. When, mounted on a rutting elephant, he appeared in the front of the battle to slay his enemies, then by his bloodshed of the Sēvuna army, he recalled to earth the bloody deeds of the god who slew Madhu and Kaitabha"[2]. "The lotus heads of Vikrama-pāla and Pāvusa swung about among the poles of the flags of the golden howdah of his (Narasiṁha's) elephant as if nodding in approval of his valour"[3]. Narasiṁha was assisted by his great general Addayada Harihara. He penetrated into the Sēvuna army "slew with his blows, overthrew them, trod them under feet, pursued them, Harihara; and with his one thoroughbred horse captured whole lines of their cavalry"[4].

This conquest of Narasiṁha against the Yādavas had only a temporary effect since in the time of Sōmēśvara they pushed still further and had Bettur as one of their capitals[5]. The enmity betgeen the Hoysalas and the Yādavas continued down till the beginning of the fourteenth century when both the empires fell under the Mahomedans.

Narasiṁha II should be given great importance for his political relationship with the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas of the south. After their defeat at the hands of Vishṇuvardhana the Chōḷas had retreated to their native territory and were reigning there as a supreme power. The feelings of the Hoysalas towards them had been throughout inimical, though they do not seem to have attacked them. Vishṇuvardhana, Narasiṁha I and Ballāḷa had always assumed the titles "Destroyer of Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya". Vishṇuvardhana had encouraged Vaishṇavism and protected Ramanuja from the wrath of the Chōḷa king Kulōtunga Chōḷa.

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 84.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 25.

[4] *E. C.*, III, Md, 121.

[5] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 115.

The history of the Chōḷas is of no interest to our purpose until the time of Ṛajādhirāja II and his successor Kulōtunga III. The former was ruling prior to A. D. 1178 and the latter from A. D. 1178 to about 1218[1]. There was a civil war in Madura owing to the rivalry of Parushrāma Pāṇḍya and Kulaśēkara for the throne. The former was assisted by Parākramabāhu the great king of Ceylon, while the Chōḷas espoused the cause of the latter. After a long stress of war the Ceylonese were driven away by the Chōḷas and Kulasekara's son Vikrama Pāṇḍya, was placed on the throne[2]. Kulōtunga Chōḷa III was the last great king of the Chōḷas who claims to have "prostrated to the ground the kings of the north"[3].

We have to bear in mind the fact that about this time the Chōḷas had beseiged the fort of Uchchangi, but were unsuccessful. "Though Chōḷa lay seige for twelve years, was it captured ? The report came that he had abandoned it— when mounting on it but one cubit was sufficient to bring that Uchchangi into the possession of this mighty one (Ballala II)"[4]. It is not known whether the Pāṇḍyas of Uchchangi had allied with the Pāṇḍyas of Madura so as to excite the wrath of Kulōtunga III or whether the latter had beseiged the fort merely to appease his thirst for conquest.

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[1] *E. I.*, VI, p. 281, and *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, p. 123.

[2] K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 154.

[3] *M. E. R.*, 1908, Para 64 & *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, p. 218.

[4] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 137, 175.

It is also problematical why Ballāḷa ventured to attack Uchchangi only after the Chōḷas had abandoned it. I suppose this fact only strengthens the statement made by Mr. Krishna Shastri that Kulōtunga Chōḷa III was more than a match to Ballāḷa[1]. A record from the Kolar District registers that Ballāḷa II was ruling in the 12th year of Kulōtunga Chola III, which suggests Ballāḷa's inferiority. Whatever may be the comparative power of these two great monarchs, it is evident from the titles of Ballāḷa that they were not on friendly terms. "Chōḷa had his crown reduced to powder"[2]. "Chōḷika spent his days on the sea-shore"[3].

It is probable that the term "Chōḷa" the Hoysalas included the Chōḷa Irungōlas of Niḍugal also. In A. D. 1218 Ballala II was encamped at Niḍugal[4] evidently on an expedition of war. Inscriptions at the temple of Sidhēśvara-swāmi at Hemāvati, Anantapur District, (the capital of the Irungōla chiefs which was then known as Penjeru or Henjeru) show that an endowment was made to the temple by the Chōḷa king in A. D. 1168; but in A. D. 1205 Ballāḷa made a grant to the same[5]. These Chōḷa chiefs of Niḍugal were perhaps the feudatories of the Chōḷa king Kulōtunga III. It is gathered from McKenzie's Collections that Ballāḷa II's attempt to subvert the Kērala, Chōḷa, and Kalinga armies proved futile since his army was striken with fever[6]. But no inscriptions have been found to support this statement. We know that Ballāḷa's attention was wholly directed to the north in the Kuntala country and he was residing at Vijayasamudra and other centres almost till the end of his reign. I suppose that he did not have any military expedition in view into the territories south of the Hoysala kingdom.

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[1] *A. S. J. R.*, 1909-10, p. 151.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 58.

[3] *Ibid.*, Ak, 38.

[4] *Ibid.*, Hn, 61.

[5] Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities Madras*, I, p. 121.

[6] *McKenzie's Collections*. Introd. p. 66.

When Narasiṁha II ascended the throne, the kingdom of the Chōḷas had taken a different aspect. Rājarāja III who succeeded Kulōtunga in A. D. 1216 was too weak a monarch to cope with the political situation at the time which was leading the Chōḷa empire into dismemberment. The Sambuvarayans near Kanchi, the Adegaimans and the Telugu Chōḷas of Nellore (Trivikramapura) were gradually growing into prominence. The Pāṇḍyas of Madura were moving into the Chōḷa kingdom probably to avenge the humiliation to which they had been subjected by Kulōtunga Chola III[1].

The Magara kingdom which is often mentioned in the Hoysala inscriptions is identified by Mr. Rice with Mahārājavāḍi of which the Bāṇas were in possession in the ninth century[2]. This was subsequently granted by the Chōḷa kings to the Vaidumba chiefs[3]. During this period the Magaras were ruling the territory now compresing Coimbatur and the Salem Districts[4]. These seem to have asserted their independence in the beginning of the thirteenth century and encroached upon the decaying Chōḷa empire which necessitated intervention by the Hoysalas.

Under these critical circumstances the Chōḷa country which had so long been impregnable to the Hoysala monarchs, offered itself as a field for the acquirement of wealth and power in the south, and Narasiṁha was not slow to utilise it to his best advantage. It is interesting to note that it was the first time when the Hoysalas took a hand in the settlement of the neighbouring kingdoms. Narasimha also gave his daughter in marriage to Rajēndra Chōḷa III[5]. This was a very important alliance.

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[1] K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 155-157.

[2] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 104. We are told in Dg. 25, *E. C.*, XI of that Narasimha defeated Banodara in the South. This was probably a derivation from the word Bana.

[3] *E. C.*, X, Cl, 9.

[4] *E. C.*, XII, Introd. p. 10.

[5] *I. A.*, XL, p. 136.

The inscriptions of the time of Narasiṁha indicate several expeditions to the south into the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries. Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah in his quotation of the *Jagannātha-Vijaya* by poet Rudrabhatta states that Ballāḷa II had the title Rāja-rāja-pratishta-virātam (establisher of Raja-raja *i. e.* Chōḷa King) and argues that the alliance with the Cholas took place in the life-time of Ballāḷa [1]. But no authentic records have appeared to prove definitely that Ballāḷa had taken up the cause of the Chōḷas. In fact his titles which I have previously mentioned indicate hostility to the Chōḷas; and in the light of such evidence the poets' version may be rejected.

Two expeditions of Narasiṁha into the Chōḷa country stand prominent. One in A. D. 1222 and one in about A. D. 1231. In A. D. 1222 Narasiṁha was marching to the south against Ranga where a battle took place [2]. Ranga is identified by Dr. Hultzsch with the island of Śrīrangam [3]. An inscription in Channarayapatna Taluq dated A. D. 1223 gives to King Naraṁsiha the titles "uprooter of the Makara kingdom" and "establisher of the Chōḷa kingdom" and states that when Narasiṁha was encamped at Chūdāvaḍi (Chuda-grama in Mulbagal Taluq) on his way against Magara, he gave orders to his minister Visvanātha-dēva to make Kembala in Nirgunda-nād an Agrahāra [4]. It is of interest to note here, that when Narasiṁha was stationed at Chūdāvaḍi he gave a feast to celebrate the adding to his necklace of an emerald received from Munivaraditya. Munivaraditya was an old title belonging to a landed chief in Melai or Western Marayapadi [5]. The encampment at Chūdāvaḍi was no doubt in the year A. D. 1222, by the end of which he had restored the Chōḷa king. The inscription in Channarayapatna Taluq informs us that Narasiṁha "lifted up Chōḷa, brought under him the land as far as Sētu and pursuing after the Ṭri-Kalinga kings, penetrated their train of elephants, displaying unequalled valour", and that he forcibly captured Adiyama [1], Chēra, Pāṇḍya, Makara and the powerful Kāḍavas. "Saying 'why am I called master of elephants when there are no troops of elephants of which I am master?' — he marched, without stopping, for a hundred gāvudas to the east, and uprooting the Magara king, captured the hundreds of elephants he had brought against him"[2]. By this expedition he became possessed of "a wealth of elephants, horses, jewels and other valuables" such as had never been acquired before, and in A. D. 1223 he was at his residence at Dōrasamudra[3].

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[1] *Q. J. I. H.*, VI, Part II, p. 200.
[2] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 56.
[3] *E. I.*, VII, p. 162.
[4] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 203.
[5] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 104.

Perhaps Narasiṁha had actually gone to the capital of the Chōḷa king, to bind the crown on him and further south to erect the pillar of victory at Sētu (Ramēśvaram) to mark the southern boundary of his conquests. There is an inscription of A. D. 1224 informing us: "He made, the Kāḍava Rāya, Magara and the Pāṇḍya king roll on the ground, and captured their proud rutting elephants; and being pleased (with him), he placed Chōḷa before him and bound the crown upon him; and in Sētu did Narasiṁha by his valour set up a pillar of victory"[4].

The Hoysaḷa expedition in the year A. D. 1222 presupposes a disruption in the Chōḷa country. The Kāḍavas whom the inscriptions mention were synonymous with the Pallavas. The king of the Pallavas, Perunjiṅga was ruling the country, now called South Arcot District, and till A. D. 1230 he had acknowledged the supremacy of the Chōḷas[5]. But by A. D. 1220 he showed his rebellious spirit and seems to have allied with the Magaras and the Pāṇḍyas in the destruction of the Chōḷa Empire. The Pāṇḍya throne was at this time occupied by Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I[1]. Narasiṁha's campaign, as explained above, proved completely successful, and for a time the Chōḷa monarch was saved from the impending destruction. Apart from the motive of friendly alliance with the Chōḷas, Narasiṁha was desirous of acquiring power which is indicated by the fact that he had robbed the Magara kingdom of its wealth. By the year A. D. 1226 he had appointed Kēśava daṇḍanātha and his younger brother as the governors of Magara Three-hundred[2].

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[1] The word "Adiyama" indicates a notionality like "Chola" or "Pandya" and it can be identified with the Adaigamans who held a principality adjoining the territory of the Teluga Cholas of Vellore, as has been mentioned before. These had also been defeated by Vishnuvardhana.

[2] *E. C.*, VII, Ci, 72.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 197.

[4] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 25.

[5] *E. I.*, VII, p. 164. Perunjinga in particular seems to have claimed the Pallava lineage, but unlike his great progenitors he was only a local chieftain.

During this period of disturbance Narasiṁha was mostly residing in the south. Thus in the year A. D. 1229 we find him stationed at Kānchīpura (the modern Conjeeveram)[3]; while his son was residing at Kannanūr (Vikramapura, in Trichinopoly District) in A. D. 1228 and bearing the imperial titles "Mahārājādhirāja" etc[4]. The establishment of the Hoysaḷa capital at Kannanūr might partly be of help for the Chōḷas to withstand the attacks of the Pāṇḍyas and partly to guard the extended Hoysaḷa dominions.

In A. D. 1231 the Pallava king Perunjiṅga marched into the Chōḷa country and took Rājarāja III prisoner at Śēndamangalam, which Dr. Hultzsch has identified with a place of the same name in Tirukoilur Taluk[5]. The Pāṇḍyas and the Magaras who had been completely subjugated in A. D. 1222 were still aggressive in the Chōḷa country. Sundara Pāṇḍya boasted of having conquered the Chōḷa country and restored it to the Chōḷa king[6]. That he had conquered the country seems to be true because an inscription of his ninth year, *i. e.* A. D. 1225, is found in the Ranganātha temple at Śrīrangam[7].

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[1] Aiyer, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, I, p. 175.

[2] *E. C.*, XI, Ck, 42.

[3] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 42.

[4] *A. S. I. R.*, 1909-10, p. 152.

[5] *E. I.*, VII, p. 162.

[6] *E. I.*, VI, p. 314.

[7] *I. A.*, XXI, p. 344.

Thus in A. D. 1231 Narasiṁha had to march for a second time from Dōrasamudra to rescue the Chōḷa emperor, vowing that the trumpet should not blow till he had justified his title as setter up of the Chōḷa-maṇḍala which he had acquired after his conquest in A. D. 1222. He first marched into the Magara kingdom, capturing the king, his women and treasuries, and halted at Pāchchūr, which is said to be opposite Śrīrangam in Trichinopoly[1]. In A. D. 1233 Narasiṁha was residing at Pāñchaḷa in Chōḷa-nāḍ[2].

From Pāchchūr he had sent his generals Appaṇa-daṇṇāyaka and Sumudra-Goppaya-daṇṇāyaka against Peruñjinga. The inscription which describes the expedition of these two generals was found by Dr. Hultzsch on the west wall of the *prākāra* of the Dēvanāyaka-Perumāḷ temple at Tiruvēndipuram, near Cuddalore on the sea-coast[3]; and it is distinguished from most other South-Indian inscriptions, as it does not record a donation or similar transaction but is of purely a historical character. It was engraved in the 16th year of Chōḷa Rājarāja (A. D. 1231-32), that is in the same year in which the battle was fought. It was evidently engraved at the instance of the two Hoysaḷa generals, and the place where it is situated was perhaps the same where the Chōḷa emperor was released and given into their charge.

The routes by which the generals Appaṇa and Goppaya marched is thus described in the inscription: "We destroyed Eḷḷēri and Kaliyūrmūlai where the Kopperunjiṅga was staying, and Toḻudragaiyūr where Śōḻakōṉ was staying; killed Vīra-Gaṅga-nāḍ-Āḷvaṉ (and) Chīnattarayan, and four officers including Parākramabāhu, the King of Īḻam (Ceylon); seized their horses, and seized the horses of Koḷḷi-Śōḻakōn. Having worshipped the god Ponnambalam (Chidambaram), (we) started (again), destroyed rich villages including Toṇḍaimāṇallūr, caused the forest to be cut down and halted at Tiruppādirippuliur (Tirupapuliur). We destroyed Tiruvadigai

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[1] *E. I.*, VII, p. 161.

[2] *E. C.*, VII, Ci, 52.

[3] *E. I.*, VII, p. 160.

(Tiruvadi), Tiruvekkarai (Tiravakkarai) and other villages, burnt and destroyed the sea port towns on the sea and the drinking channels to the south of the Vāraṇavāsi river and to east of Śēndamaṅgalam; and seized and plundered the women. When (we) advanced against Śēṇdamaṅgalaṁ and were going to encamp (there), the Kōpperuñjiṅga became afraid and submitted to the King (Narasiṁha II) that (he) would release the Chōḷa emperor. As he (the king) agreed and despatched a messenger to us, (we) liberated the Chōḷa emperor, went (with him), and let (him) enter (his) kingdom"[1].

Peruñjiṅga had built a fortification on the northern bank of the Kāverī to defend himself against the assaults of the Hoysaḷas; and even the services of the temple of Tiruvenkaḍu had to be stopped for a period of one year until the Hoysaḷas returned to their capital[2].

Narasiṁha and his generals had to oppose the united forces of the Kāḍavas, the Pallavas, the Pāṇḍyas and the forces from Ceylon. Appaṇa and Goppaya are said to have pursued Vīra-Pāṇḍya's army[3]. In A. D. 1233 immediately after the battle, Narasiṁha returned to Dōrasamudra[4], but the next year he had to march against the Pāṇḍyas: "Narasiṁha Dēvarasa in order to make a victorious expedition over Pāṇḍya, was in Ravitadānakuppa"[5]. From another inscription we understand that he had returned to Dōrasamudra and had styled himself "a wild-fire to the forest of the Chakrakūṭa fort"[6]. Chakrakūṭa is one of those forts on the east, now in the United Provinces, which had been subdued by Vishṇuvardhana [1].

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[1] Vira Ganga-nad-Alvan aud Chinttarayan are supposed to have been originally the officers of the Chola king and later to have gone over to the side of Perunjinga. Parakramabahu, the king of Ceylon had died in A.D. 1197; here in the inscription it might only mean a general from Ceylon. (*E. I.*, VII, p. 168.)

[2] *M. E. R.*, 1919, p. 100.

[3] *E. C.*, XII, Gb, 45.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 123.

[6] *Ibid.*, Ak, 82.

Narasiṁha seems to have received no trouble from the Changālvas and the Āḷupas of South Kanara, who had been reduced to feudatorship by his father.

He claims to have been ruling the Gaṅgavāḍi Ninety-six Thousand, the Noḷambavāḍi Thirty-two Thousand, the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, the Kaḍambaḷike Thousand, with the Naṅgali Ghat on the east, Koṅgu on the south, Āḷvakhēda on the west and the Heddoṛe on the north, as his boundaries [2].

Narasiṁha's first queen was perhaps Kāḷala-dēvi who had given brith to a son, Sōmēśvara-dēva, before the year A. D 1223 [3]. The young Soyi-dēva (Sōmēśvara-dēva) was looked after by the King's sister Sōvala-dēvi with affection like a mother [4]. From this we understand that Kāḷala-dēvi must have died early leaving the crown-prince an orphan. An inscription dated in A. D. 1227 and 1235 speaks of the senior Queen Umā-dēvi who made grants on these dates to a temple which was in an imminent danger of bankruptcy. The inscription does not mention the name of her husband, and it is difficult to say whether she is Narasiṁha's wife or his stepmother. Narasiṁha had another wife Lōkambika, whose native place was Turuvakere (Tumkur District) [5]. An inscription of A. D. 1228 brings to light Gaurala-dēvi, daughter of Bellapa-Nāyaka of the body-guard, by whom Narasiṁha II had a son Eṛeyanga. She, her father and others joined together on the date of the inscription to make a grant to the god Mallikārjuna [6]. One of the queens of Narasiṁha II mentioned only by her title "the Mahādēvi" seems to have put to death a subject of hers. The victim's wife performed *satī* in about A. D. 1225 [7].

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[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 82.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 204.

[3] *Ibid.*, Cn, 203.

[4] *Ibid.*, Ak, 123.

[5] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, Introd., p. 79.

[6] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 204.

[7] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 81.

Among the ministers of Narasiṁha, Pōlāḷva attained the highest rank. He was a minister during the time of Ballāḷa II. Subsequently he attained such proficiency in state administration that the whole of the Hoysaḷa kingdom was entrusted to him when the king was out in the Chōḷa territory. He won the title *Toḷagada-kamba* (unshaken pillar). He hailed from Nārapapura in the Andhra country and was born to Atti-Rāja and to Navilādeyakka. In the council he was the tongue, the other councillors being like statues; in war he was a shield against the four-fold armies of the southern king. As among kings Narasiṁha was the first, having by his bravery once defeated Bāṇōdara, so among councillors Pōlāḷva was the first, having guarded the whole of the Hoysaḷa empire here. Can further praise be added? "After taking milk can anything else be taken?" He caused the temple of the god Harihara to be adorned with 115 golden kalaśas. "He was divinely directed to build it, which had never been done by any of the great kings of old." Hermmāḍi Rāya had wanted to do it previously, but was stopped by the god in a dream. Pōlāḷva having completed the temple, made a grant of Bānavaḷḷi to the hundred and four Brahmans of the *agrahāra*, and built there a temple of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa. He is also said to have composed a *Hari-Charita* in *shaṭpadi*[1].

Appaṇa-daṇṇāyaka, Samudra-Goppaya-daṇṇāyāka and Addayada Harihara-daṇṇāyaka were the three great military generals of Narasiṁha II, the former two having distinguished themselves in the war with the Pallavas, and the last one in the war with the Sēvunas. Addayada was the younger brother of Singeya Nāyaka and Mariya Nāyaka, and the son of Malleya Nāyaka. He was a "devout worshipper of the feet of the god Harihara." In A. D. 1235 the three brothers erected the temple of the god Mallikārjuna at Basurival in the name of their father. "From the foundation to the top of the pinnacle shining with various coloured paintings, with spaces decorated with the ancient stories of the Bhārata and other works, the whole resplendent as if a Mount Mēru ornamented by the art of the goldsmith, such was the temple of Mallikārjuna"[1].

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[1] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 25.

Gangaiyadēva-Siṅgeya-daṇḍanāyaka, probably the brother of Addayada Harihara-daṇṇāyaka, is said to have improved or constructed the sacred hall and the enclosure round the temple at Śrīrangam[2]. Mahāsāmantādipati Nirgunda Challeya Nāyaka, who had "completely trampled the Pāṇḍya Army" at Uchchaṅgi during the time of Ballāḷa, was still a great feudatory under Narasiṁha II and was entitled a "grinder of feudatories"[3]. The principality of Huliyera was ruled by Mahāsāmanta Kappeya Nāyaka till the year A. D. 1232, but in the next year his younger brother Lakumaya-Nāyaka was ruling there[4]. Kumāra (or Prince) Narasiṅga-daṇṇāyaka was ruling the Heruha Three-hundred as a feudatory of Narasiṁha II. He was the son of the great minister Nāgaṇṇa who had occupied the important position of Padmaḷa-mahādēvi's Śrīkarṇa[5].

The Chikka-Bēgūr and Bāsūr provinces (probably on the banks of the Tungabhadrā) were ruled by Īśvara-dēva, Māda-dēva and Malli-dēva, who belonged to the Sinda-kula. Though, in A. D. 1228, they were the feudatories of Narasiṁha II they still retained the title of king[6].

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[1] *E. C.*, III, Md, 121.

[2] *I. A.*, VII, p. 136.

[3] *E. C.*, XI, Hk, 104.

[4] *E C.*, XII, Ck, 27, 32.

[5] *E. C.*, XII, Gb, 11. Among the other ministers and officers we find Kumara Choramayya (1235. *E. C.*, V, Cn, 221); Madhava dannayaka (1221. *E. C.*, V, Hn, 106); Maha-Samanta Kachi deva (M. A. R., 1914-15, p. 54); Perumala-deva (1221. *E. C.*, V, Bl, 154); Paramesvara dannayaka and Appaya dannayaka M. E. R., 1920, p. 119); Sikka-devar of Ilaipakka Nadu (1237. *E. C.*, IX, Bn, 139a); Marantayya dannayaka (1227. *E. C.*, V, Ak, 50); Kereya Singeya nayaka (1255. *E. C.*, XI, Hk, 41); Maha-Samanta Bileya nayaka (1234. *E. C.*, XII, Gb, 40); Sevamayya dannayaka (1229. *E.C.*, XII, Tp, 42); great minister Raya dandanatha (1228. *E.C.*, XII, Tp, 54); Maleya dannayaka (1221. *B.C.*, IV, Ch, 162); Bittimaya dannayaka (1220. *E.C.*, IV, Yl, 122); Raddanya, the Hejjunca of Pandya-nad (1220. *E. C.*, XI, Hk, 56.); Raghava and Sankara, of Nolamba lineage, officers in Pandya-nad (1220. *E.C.*, XI, Hk, 56); Sriranga dannayaka (M. A. R., 1918, p. 47).

[6] *E. C.*, VII, Hl, 8.

CHAPTER XII

Somesvara A. D. 1235-1256

Contemporaries

Yādava Kings:—
    Singhaṇa, A. D. 1210-1247.
    Jaithugā.
    Krishna Kandhara, A. D. 1247-1260.
Chōḷa Kings:—
    Rājarāja III, A. D. 1216-1243.
    Rajēndra Chōḷa III, A. D. 1243 & A. D. 1267.
Pāṇḍya Kings:—
    Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, A. D. 1216-1237.
    Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II, A. D. 1238-1250.
    Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, A. D. 1251-1271.

Sōmēśvara or Sōvi-dēva succeeded to the throne after the death of Narasiṁha II. An inscription in Seringapatam Taluk of A. D. 1254 states that it was the twenty-first year of Sōmēśvara[1]; so that it can be understood his accession took place in A. D. 1234. Dr. Hultzsch, however, quotes another inscription dated Śaka 1177, the 29th year of Sōmēśvara and thus calculates that the date of his accession was Śaka 1148 or A. D. 1226[2]. The inscriptions of Narasiṁha extend to the year A. D. 1234-35 [1], and therefore it is probable that he died in the same year. It is interesting to note that both the inscriptions quoted above, the one at Seringapatam and the other from Chōḷa-nād referred to by Dr. Hultzsch, though apparently contradicting each other enable us to understand that Sōmēśvara was crowned as the ruler in the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries in A. D. 1226, while he became the Sovereign of the original Hoysaḷa territory only after the death of Narasiṁha in A. D. 1234-35. In the year A. D. 1229 Sōmēśvara was residing at Kannanūr and was styled Maharajādhirāja[2]. The same year he was stationed at Dōrasamudra after his successful battle against the Yādavas, and again he was entitled Maharāja[3]. Therefore it is clear that Sōmēśvara was crowned in the life-time of his father as the Mahārāja of the Hoysaḷa territory in the south, with Kannanūr as his capital. Mr. Krishna Sastri counts Sōmēśvara's 29th year from A. D. 1235 and thus arrives at the conclusion that he was defeated by the Pāṇḍyas in A. D. 1264[4]. This is clearly a miscalculation; as will be seen later, the battle took place in A. D. 1255-56 after which date Sōmēśvara's inscriptions have not been found.

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[1] *E. C.*, III, Sr, 110.
[2] *E. I.*, III, p. 10.

Kannanūr or Vikramapura has been identified by Dr. Hultzsch with a village named Kannanūr five miles north of Śrīrangam, which is now completely in ruins. Part of the surrounding rampart and traces of the moat of an extensive fort are still visible there. Detached stones have been discovered on the spot with the Hoysaḷa *birudas* inscribed on them. The Doctor was able to fix the site with the help of an inscription in which the king mentions " (the image of) the lord Poysaḷaēśvara which we have set up in Kannanūr alias Vikrampuram in Rājarājavḷanāḍu." An inscription in the ruins of an old temple informs us that the name of that temple is Poysalēśvara. Hence the discovery [5].

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[1] *E. C.*, III, Md, 121; *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 21.

[2] *A. S. I. R.*, 1909-10, p. 152; *E. C.*, III, Nj, 36.

[3] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 98.

[4] *E. I.*, III, p. 8.

[5] *Ibid.*

A new inscription found in the Hole-Narsipur Taluk informs us that in A. D. 1238 Sōmēśvara was residing at Vijayārājēndrapaṭṭaṇa "which he had brought into existence in the Chōḷa kingdom"[1]. All the other inscriptions inform us that he was residing at Vikramapura, which was erected by himself in the Chōḷa kingdom. Probably the two names refer to the same place.

Sōmēśvara had settled there with his queen Sōvala-dēvi as early as A. D. 1225, in the life-time of his father, for the purpose of guarding his southern boundaries and for assisting the Chōḷa king. Even after the death of Narasiṁha, Sōmēśvara made his permanent residence at Kannanūr, and rarely visited Dōrasamudra. An inscription in the Bangalore Taluk informs us that he had created Kannanūr for his pleasure in the Chōḷa Maṇḍala and that he had conquered it with the might of his own arm [2].

The transfer of the Hoysaḷa Capital from Dōrasamudra to Kannanūr presupposes the transfer of political interest of the Hoysaḷa kings from the northern territories to those of the south. From the time of Vishṇuvardhana onwards the Hoysaḷas had always attempted to overthrow the Chalukya yoke and to battle with the Kalachuryas, the Kadambas and the Yādavas for a share in the Kuntaḷa country. During the time of Narasiṁha II the politics of Southern India took a sudden change. The Chalukyas, the Kalachuryas and the Kadambas were destroyed within the space of half a century. But the Yādavas grew more powerful and established a substantial empire on the ruins of the Chalukya territory in the north. Narasiṁha II had the true hereditary spirit of extending his kingdom, but he perceived that the Yādavas could not be shaken; and hence his attention was directed to the south, where civil wars and bitter hostilities between the neighbouring empires had reduced the land to a political chaos and offered a fresh field of conquests to the Hoysaḷas.

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[1] *Q. J. M. S.*, II, p. 126.

[2] *E. C.*, IX, Bn, 6.

[3] *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 37.

Śomēśvara's activities in the Chōḷa country are dated from almost the beginning of his father's reign as mentioned before. Of him it is said that when he first began to walk Chēra went before him, calling out: "Bravo! Mind your steps Dēva!", while the Chōḷa king and Pāṇḍya, one on each side, held his hand [1]. In the beginning of his reign Sōmēśvara retained the same political attitude towards the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas—"The displacer of the Pāṇḍyas and the setter-up of the Chōḷas"; but soon afterwards he became hostile to the Chōḷas too.

In A. D. 1237 Sōmēśvara claims to have "uprooted" Chōḷa in the field of battle, but when he claimed refuge he protected him [2]. The battle took place in A. D. 1234-35, the year of his coronation in which year he returned to Dōrasamudra after having marched to the Chōḷa—Pāṇḍya kingdom [3]. The Chōḷa king was assisted by his feudatory Chōda-Tikka who boasts of having defeated the Karnāṭa king Sōmēśa at Champāpuri, and of having established the Chōḷa king on the throne [4]. The Chōḷa king Rājarāja III, whom Narasiṁha II had restored to the throne after defeating the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas, managed to continue his weak rule till A. D. 1243, but Sōmēśvara's hostility towards him shows that when Rājarāja found himself secure on the throne, he turned refractory towards his Hoysaḷa benefactor. Hence Sōmēśvara was obliged to subdue him. This was evidently in the interest of Sōmēśvara who now had established a substantial power in the Chōḷa country, and therefore the inimical attitude of Rājarāja would weaken his influence.

In the meantime the Kāḍava king Perunjiṅga had resumed hostilities with the Hoysaḷas after his defeat in A. D. 1231, and hence Sōmēśvara had to march against him. In A. D. 1237 he was encamped at Maṅgalada-koppa on his victorious expedition against Kāḍava-Rāya [5]. An inscription dated A. D. 1236 gives Sōmēśvara the title "up-rooter of the Magara kingdom and establisher of the Chōḷa kingdom"[1]. This was one of the distinguishing epithets of his father; nevertheless it signifies Sōmēśvara's hostile attitude towards the Magaras. In A. D. 1256 he sent a message to them through his general Narasiṁha-nāyaka. But apparently the Magara king did not accept the demand conveyed in the message. It therefore resulted in a battle in which Narasiṁha-nāyaka was killed[2].

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[1] *E. C.*, VI, Kp, 12.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 128.

[3] *E. C.*, XI, Jl, 33.

[4] Cf., Ayyar, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, I, p. 284.

[5] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 123.

Sōmēśvara's reconciliation with the Chōḷas in the year A. D. 1237 was only temporary, hostilities having broken out again after a few years. The Pāṇḍyas on the other hand became friendly with Sōmēśvara after the death of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I in A. D. 1237. His successor Sundara Pāṇḍya II addressed Sōmēśvara as uncle (Māmadigal), and it is supposed that Sundara Pāṇḍya's mother Pammeyakkan was probably Sōmēśvara's sister[3]. It is also apparent that Sundara Pāṇḍya II sought protection and acknowledged the supremacy of Sōmēśvara. An inscription of the eighth year of Sundara Pāṇḍya (A. D. 1246) records gifts of a village to certain Brahmans and the naming of it after Hoysaḷa Sōmēśvara[4]. An inscription dated the seventh year of Sundara Pāṇḍya records the settlement of disputes between the Śaivas and the Vaishṇavas by Appaṇṇa daṇṇāyaka, one of the officers of Sōmēśvara[5]. In another inscription of the eleventh year of the same Pāṇḍya king mention is made of a Hoysaḷa officer who was apparently a representative of Sōmēśvara in the court of Sundara Pāṇḍya[6]. In A. D. 1247 Sōmēśvara assumed the title "*Pāṇḍyarājya-sthāpanāchārya*" (establisher of the Pāṇḍya kingdom)[7] instead of his former title "*Pāṇḍyarāja-disapatta*" (displacer of the Pandya king). Such titles indicating Hoysaḷa protection of the Pāṇḍya kingdom were commonly used by his descendents[1]. In A. D. 1254 he styled himself "*Sārvabhauma*" (universal emperor)[2]; and his inscriptions are found as far south as Śendalai and Mannārgudi in the Tanjore District,[3] which probably marked the southern boundary of his empire.

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[1] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 129.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 166.

[3] Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, III, p. 1452.

[4] *Ibid.*, III, p. 1502.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 1652.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 1500.

[7] *E. C.*, III, Md, 62.

The weak reign of the Chōḷa emperor Rājarāja III terminated in about A. D. 1243; but storm was again gathering. Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya was advancing from the south and the Pallava chief was ready to take advantage of the internal dissensions and establish himself independently in the northern parts of the Chōḷa empire. The confusion increased on the occasion of the accession of Rājēndra Chōḷa III[4].

The latter ascended the throne in the year A. D. 1246[5]. He addressed Sōmēśvara as uncle[6], a term indicating some blood relationship. But unlike his predecessor he showed bitter enmity towards the Hoysaḷa king. During the first five years of his reign, however, he was obliged to bow down to the superior power of Sōmēśvara. He needed an interval of quiet to collect the scattered forces of his kingdom and then to make one final convulsive effort to prevent the collapse of the great Chōḷa empire. That the Chōḷa king acknowledged the suzerainty of Sōmēśvara and that he sought an interval of peace can be seen from an important incident of the period. In the fourth year of Rājēndra Chōḷa's reign a committee was formed to enquire into the affairs of the temple in Kurukkainādu, which included the great ministers Aliya-Sōmaya daṇḍanāyaka, Sēvaya daṇḍanāyaka and

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[1] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 12; III, Tn, 78, 97; IV, Kp, 9; Ng, 97.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Ak. 108.

[3] Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, III, p. 1569.

[4] Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 158.

[5] *E. I.*, VII, p. 176.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 177.

Sōmanātha Vittaya who were officers at Sōmēśvara's court[1]. In the fifth year of Rājēndra Chōḷa, Sōmaya-daṇḍanāyaka made a gift of land to the temple of Madhurāntaka-Chōḷīś-vara in Sōḷakulamāṇikka-Chaturvēdi maṅgalam[2].

By A. D. 1252 Rājēndra-Chōḷa turned hostile to his suzerain Sōmeśvara and started an ambitious military campaign to restore the power of the Chōḷas. Among the achievements of the king, in an inscription in Tanjore District, are mentioned his capture of the stronghold of Vīra-Rākshasa, which was called Uttara-Lanka; his victory over the Pāṇḍyas; and his power over the Karṇāṭaka king Sōmēśvara, "Vīra-Rākshasa is said to be the sole hero of the Vaḍugas, and Rājēndra's campaign against him was perhaps due to a general war against Kōpperunjiṅga whose territories extended as far as Drākshārāma and who had given a good deal of trouble to Rājarāja III"[3]. In his seventh year (A. D. 1252-53) Rājēndra Chōḷa styles himself "the hostile rod of death to the Kannariga (Karṇāṭaka) king" and boasts that the hero's anklets were put on his feet "by the hands of Vīra-Sōmēś-vara"[4]; while another inscription, referring to the same incident informs us that Rājēndra Chōḷa humbled his uncle Sōmēśvara, the Karṇāṭaka king so thoroughly that he put on the Chōḷa's leg an anklet of heroes with his own hand[5]. Sōmēśvara on his part seems to have been assisted by his feudatories the Chāngāḷva chiefs Boppa Dēvarasa and Sōma Dēvarasa, who, apparently after the battle with the Chōḷas, accompanied him in A. D. 1252 as far as Rāmanāthapura on the banks of the Kāverī when he was paying a visit to Dōra-samudra[6]. Though it is probable that the Hoysaḷas suffered a defeat at the hands of Rājēndra Chōḷa III, it is not possible that the defeat materially affected their position, since the Chōḷas were soon swallowed up by the rising Pāṇḍyas.

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[1] Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, III, p. 1525.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1513.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, p. 1328.

[4] *E. I.*, VII, p. 176.

[5] Rangacharya, *op. cit.*, III, p. 1524.

[6] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 106; *E. C.*, V, Ag, 53.

The loyalty of the Pāṇḍyas to the Hoysaḷa crown ceased with the death of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II. His successor Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I is considered to be perhaps the greatest of the Pāṇḍya kings of Madura, for it was during his rule that the kingdom reached the utmost limit of expansion[1]. The *Kōyiloḷugu*, a record of gifts made to the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīrangam, gives us a glimpse into the extensive military expeditions and the wealth of the treasury of Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. Here he styles himself the uprooter of the Kēraḷa race, a second Rāma in plundering the island of Laṅkā, the thunderbolt to a mountain the Chōḷa race, the dispeller of the Karṇāṭa king, the fever to the elephant Kaṭhāka king (the Gajapati, king of Cuttack in Orissa), the jungle-fire to the forest Vīragaṇḍa-gōpala, a lion to the deer Gaṇapati (the Kākatīya king)[2].

Inscriptions of the year A. D. 1256-57 inform us for the first time of the defeat suffered by Sōmēśvara at the hands of the Pāṇḍyas; and the death of Sōmēśvara is hinted at in an inscription dated A. D. 1257[3], therefore it is probable that the battle between the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysaḷas terminated by the year A. D. 1256-57. The cause of this conflict was perhaps the assumption of independence by Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I who had by this time started his campaigns against the neighbouring territories. In about A. D. 1255 Vikrama, probably a feudatory of Sōmēśvara, "pursued after the Pāṇḍya king, slew the enemy and gained great wealth by victory. He terrified the hostile kings and drove off their elephant troops". But he was killed in battle[4]. It is here indicated that the Pāṇḍyas were driven away. But soon afterwards they marched to Śrīrangam and Kannanūr the capital of Sōmēśvara. A record of this time registers the utter defeat suffered by Sōmēśvara at the hands of Jātavarman. "He destroyed the Chēra king and his army in battle;

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[1] Aiyer, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, I, p. 164.
[2] *I. A.*, XL, p. 137.
[3] *E. C.*, IV, Kp. 9.
[4] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 115.

levied tribute on the Chōḷa; by the strength of his arm he inflicted defeat on the Hoysaḷa king in the country which is watered by the Ponni (Kāverī) and cut off his powerful cavalry and infantry together with many commanders, such as Siṅgaṇa, who were renowned for their valour; killed the Chēra king, who offered protection to the Hoysaḷa sovereign when the latter fled from the field; captured Kannānūr and received a tribute of elephants from the Karṇāṭa"[1]. The occupation of Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya in Śrīrangam is further proved by the wealth of jewelry he bestowed on the Ranganātha temple there. The *Kōyiloḷugu* says that the immense booty obtained from the vanquished kings was utilised in the construction of Tulāpurusha maṇḍapas and the completion of the thousand pillared maṇḍapa. Jātavarman also presented several jewelled ornaments to the goddesses, and covered the roofs of the temple with plates of gold. Thus he is said to have expended eighteen lakhs of gold pieces for covering the temple with gold, and another eighteen lakhs for minor expenses; and acquired the title "*Kōyil-pon-mēynda-Perumāl*" (he who covered the temple with gold)[2].

It is surmised that Sōmēśvara was killed in battle, for an inscription in the Raṅganātha temple informs us that "having caused to long for the other world that moon of the Karṇāṭa (Sōmēśvara)....King Sundara Pāṇḍya rose full of brilliancy"[3]. An inscription dated A. D. 1257 registers the suicide of the Hoysaḷa officer Kanneya Nāyaka together with his wives and servants, apparently on the death of Sōmēśvara. "Kanneya Nāyaka with his wives....six times embraced Garuḍa on the head of an elephant and fulfilled his engagement with Sōmēśvara-dēva"[4]. It was a custom for a few faithful followers called the *garuḍas*, to die with the king. Thus it is probable that Sōmēśvara was killed in the battle of A. D. 1256. The same year Rāmanātha succeeded Sōmēśvara in his southern dominions; this can be supposed from an inscription of his which has been found at Śrīrangam and is dated A. D. 1257[1]. But Kannanūr seems to have been occupied by Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya even in A. D. 1264, since in that year (fourteenth year of his reign) he issues orders from there regarding a gift of land[2]. It is very probable that Rāmanātha had to enter into a treaty with the Pāṇḍya king and to send him back with a tribute in order to take possession of the lost territories of his father.

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[1] Cf. Aiyar, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, I, p. 165.

[2] *I. A.*, XL, p. 137.

[3] *E. I.*, III, p. 14.

[4] *E. C.*, IV, Kp, 9.

While Sōmēśvara was engrossed in the affairs of his southern territorries he was ever watching with concern his northern boundary which was being threatened by the Yādavas. Sōmēśvara's principal collision with the Yādavas took place during his father's life-time before A. D. 1229. He had taken charge of the Chōḷa-nāḍ in A. D. 1226, but the fresh aggression of the Yādavas after the defeat of Vikramapāla and Pāvusa obliged Sōmēśvara to march northwards. The Yādava army was headed by Krishna Kandhara[3]. He was probably the crown prince at this time since he ascended the throne only in A. D. 1247[4]. Addayada Harihara the chief minister of Narasiṁha had taken an important part in subduing the Yādavas under him. He continued to be the minister of Sōmēśvara too, and most probably the inscription which mentions his victory over the Yādavas might be referring to the battle against Krishna Kandhara as well as against Vikramapāla and Pāvusa[5].

The Yādavas, however, started fresh incursions; and in A. D. 1238 Yādava Singhāna styled himself the conquerer of Hoysaḷa[6]; but Sōmēśvara proved more than a match for him. In A. D. 1236 he was stationed at Pandharpur (near Sholapur)[1]. The fact that he had marched so far north in the heart of the Yādava territory, proves that he succeeded in pursuing Singhaṇa's army and defeating it. But Sōmēśvara must have retreated soon afterwards for we see that Singhaṇa had started his aggressive wars afresh. In A. D. 1239 he sent an army including 30,000 horses to capture the fort of Gutti. Singhaṇa's army then marched still south and raided the territory of the Idagur chief[2]. In A. D. 1242 they marched further still to Kabahu-nāḍ. A battle ensued between the Yādavas and the army of the chief of Kabahunāḍ who was a feudatory of Sōmēśvara; and most probably the Yādavas were driven back[3].

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[1] *I. A.*, XL, p. 137.

[2] Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, I, p. 112.

[3] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 93; *E. C.*, III, Md, 122.

[4] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 519.

[5] *E. C.*, III, Md, 121.

[6] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, p. 326.

There was quiet for a short time; but trouble began again in A. D. 1248 after the accession of Krishna Kandhara. Under the incessant onslaught of the Yādavas the Hoysaḷas were losing their hold on the territory now comprising the Chitaldroog District and for the first time between A. D. 1250 and 1263 Yādava inscriptions begin to appear there[4]. Beḷagāmve which had been an important centre of the Hoysaḷas after the fall of the Kadambas and the Kalachuryas was occupied by the Yādavas in about the year A. D. 1215 during the time of Singhaṇa[5]. It was probably at this time that they made Bettur in Davangere their capital[6]. But the Hoysaḷas were ever exerting themselves to push back the enemy. Thus a Yādava inscription of A. D. 1255 styles the Hoysaḷas as "turbulent"[7]. But in about A. D. 1255 negotiations were going on between the two monarchs, through the medium of Sōmēśvara's minister Kuṅjanambi. "Pleasing both the Hoysaḷa emperor in the south and Ballaha (Kandhara) himself in the north he formed an alliance between the two kings which was universally praised, and obtained credit in negotiating for peace and war as an embodiment of perfect truth and an ornament of mercy"[1]. From the fact that the Hoysaḷas employed their minister for the purpose of negotiation it is evident that they had given up all hopes of defeating the Yādavas at the moment. Besides A. D. 1255 was the year in which Sōmēśvara had to devote all his attention and energy to attack the turbulent Pāṇḍyas who had come to capture Kannanūr; and hence he was forced to make peace with the Yādavas.

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[1] *Bombay Archaeological Report*, 1898, p. 5.
[2] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 319.
[3] *M. A. R.*, 1914-15, p. 55.
[4] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 88, 50, 103, 48.
[5] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 37.
[6] *Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer*, II, p. 475.
[7] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XII, p. 47.

The western boundary of the Hoysaḷas was intact during the time of Sōmēśvara. The Chāngāḷvas who had disappeared after their overthrow at the time of Vishṇuvardhana appear again during the reign of Sōmēśvara as his faithful feudatories. These were Sōma dēva and Boppa dēva who were ruling together at Koḍagu Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa in the Coorg District. In the year A. D. 1252 when Sōmēśvara was travelling from Kannanūr to visit Dōrasamudra they came to Rāmanāthapura to receive him. This city which they had re-built in A. D. 1245 probably marked their southern boundary on the banks of the Kāvēri river which Sōmēśvara had to ford[2]. The Chāngāḷvas were an able support to Sōmēśvara in subjugating the Kērala kingdoms in the south and they styled themselves "a submarine fire to the ocean the Kērala forces"[3].

Another great feudatory of Sōmēśvara was Mahāsāmanta Māreya Nāyaka who claims to have defeated Maleya[4].

Among Sōmēśvara's queens Sōmala-dēvi seems to have been his favourite, with whom he lived at Kannanūr in the beginning of his reign. She was his paṭṭa-mahīshi[5]. She belonged to the Bharadvaja kula of the Sōma vaṁśa and was born to King Chiddarasa and Queen Vudanāchi. On her death in A. D. 1253, Sōmēśvara, then living at Kannanūr, resolved to make a grant for her "final happiness". Accordingly on the occurrence of the eclipse of the sun, after hearing a discourse on the merit arising from gifts at such a time, he made a grant of Madanapaḷḷi and Mattikaṭṭa in Kaḷukunināḍ, as an agrahara of 70 shares, renaming the places Sōmalāpura[1].

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 108.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Ag, 53. *E. C.*, I, Introd., p. 15.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 78.

[5] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 322.

Sōmēśvara had another paṭṭa-mahīshi named Bijjala-rāṇi, the mother of Narasiṁha III. Her beauty is described in a queer manner—"to move in the neighbourhood of the brightness of whom made the wives of other kings honourable"[2].

He had yet another wife Dēvala-mahadēvi of Chalukya lineage who bore him a son Ramanātha and a daughter Ponnambala-mahādēvi[3].

Among the feudatories of Sōmēśvara we find Konguli-varma-dharma Mahārājādhirāja, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gangarasa, ruling Arabala Seventy[4]; Narasiṅgaya-Nāyaka ruling Bemmaṭṭanūr[5]; Mahasāmantādipati Vīra-Rājendra Chōḷa-Kukula-Nāḍava Kadasur Appeya-Nāyaka[5]; Feudatory Sunkeya Tennāyakar of Mādhava Chaturvidi Manglam the subduer of Nilgiri[7]; Chika-Māchi-dēva of Kaneyala, Gōpaṇṇa and Rangaṇṇa together ruling a "settled kingdom" in Nugunaḍ[8].

Among the officers we find that the three brothers Kēśirāja-daṇṇāyaka, Billayya-daṇṇāyaka and Beṭṭayya-daṇṇāyaka of Narasiṁha II's court were still living in A. D. 1252; but it is interesting to note that they were obliged to ask the consent of their sons Kēśiyaṇṇa, Gautamayya and Siripayya for conferring a grant to the Kēśavēśvara temple[9]. Probably the latter had retired from service in favour of their sons. Addayada Harihara daṇṇāyaka who made a name in the battle with the Yādavas under Narasiṁha, continued the office of minister in the time of Sōmēśvara[1]. The great minister Perkaḍidēva daṇṇāyaka son of Srīranga daṇṇāyaka was an administrator in the Chōḷa country. In A.D. 1236 he joined all the Mahājanas of Durgaiyar-agaram, the Srī-Vaishṇavas of the eighteen maṇḍalas and the great Nana dēsi in making a grant for the god Tirumānikka in Merkoppal of Durgaiyar agraharam[2]. Bommaṇa daṇṇāyaka was the great minister for peace and war[3].

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[1] *E. C.*, IX, Bn, 6.
[2] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 272; *E. C.*, III, Tn, 97,
[3] *E. I.*, III, p. 8.
[4] *E. C.*, XI, Hk, 121.
[5] *Ibid.*, Jl, 33.
[6] *Ibid.*, Tp, 23.
[7] Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, I, p. 563.
[8] *E. C.*, IV, Hg, 10.
[9] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 242.

An epigraph of A.D. 1237 records a grant on the occasion of Ardhōdaya for the god Ellēśvara by an assembly of Pasayitas or Masters of Robes and other officers. They were the chief customs officer Vaijaṇṇa, the Mahā-pradhāna Polāḷva daṇṇāyaka's balu-manusya (agent), Lakhaṇṇa Rayaṇṇa, the Maha-pasayita-heggade Kolliya Rāmaṇṇa, and the Maha-pasayita mīna-bēnṭikāra (fish-hunter) Mayileya Nāyaka's son Nāgeya Nāyaka's balu-manusya Heggade Hariyaṇṇa-Perumale-Nāyaka[4].

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[1] *E. C.*, III, Md, 123.

[2] *M. A. R.*, 1917, P. 46.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 237. Among other officers of Somesvara, we find Kampeya dannayaka minister and Appana dannayaka (*I. A.*, XL, p. 136); Sovi-dannayaka (*M.A.R.*, 1926, p. 43); Royal inspector Heggade Nakanna (*E. C.*, XII, Tp, 129); Kava Somesvara dannayaka (Ranyacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, III, p. 1617); Allaladeva dannayaka *(E. C.*, IV, Hg, 10); Master of Robes, Raghava-Devanna (*E. C.*, V, Cn, 221).

[4] *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 38.

CHAPTER XIII

Narasimha III. A. D. 1254-1291

Contemporaries

Hoysaḷa Kings:—
    Rāmanātha, A. D. 1254 to 1295.
Yādava Kings:—
    Krishna Kandhāra, A. D. 1247 to 1260
    Mahadēva, A. D. 1260 to 1271
    Rāmachandra, A. D. 1271 to 1309.

In the previous chapter it was seen that the year A. D. 1256-57 marked the conflict between the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysaḷas ending in a signal victory for the former. But before this final catastrophe Sōmēśvara had thought of initiating his sons in the administration of the empire. From his long experience of nearly thirty years he had found that it was impossible to rule a kingdom extending from the Tungabhadra down to Madura under a single umbrella. The situation became more difficult in A. D. 1254, when the Yādavas in the north and the Pāṇḍyas in the south were threatening to invade the Hoysaḷa territory. Sōmēśvara felt the approach of his end and destruction. It was at this time that he embarked on a new scheme of government: his northern territory was bequeathed to Narasiṁha III, while the territory now comprising the Kolar District and the Tamil-nāḍ fell to the share of Rāmnātha. These two young princes were to be installed on their thrones in a grandeur worthy of Hoysaḷa name and prestige. The merriment of the coronation festivities coupled with the tense political excitement throws a tragic gloom over the atmosphere. The details of this occasion have not come down to us, but one instance impresses us greatly. Sōmēśvara established the Mukkoḍe (or triple umbrella in the Vijaya-Tīrtādhinātha basadi and set up an order in the four frontier provinces to honour it, and to show that "the lordship of the earth was his"[1]. The triple umbrella is, no doubt, the symbol of the triple rule of Sōmēśvara, Narasiṁha, and Rāmanātha. By this scheme of government he entertained hopes of further improvement in his empire; but the duality of power proved a complete failure, and it was the primary cause of the downfall of the kingdom in the next generation.

Narasiṁha III was born to Bijāla-rāṇi on the 12th of August A. D. 1240[2]. On the occasion of his coronation in A. D. 1254 he paid a visit to Boppa-dēva-daṇṇāyaka's basadi. There he made an offering to the god Vijaya-Pārśva and read the genealogy of his line in a former *śāsana*[3]. A later inscription informs us that he being steady as a boy, on his coming of age, with King Sōmēśvara's approval he assumed the splendid crown for the protection of the Hoysaḷa kingdom[4]. In A.D. 1255 his (Pratāpa-Chakravartti, the prince Kumāra Narasiṁha-dēva's) *upaṇayana* was celebrated. On this occasion he made grants to the Vijaya-Pārśva basadi of Boppa-dēva-daṇṇāyaka[5]. He was a small boy when he ascended the throne.

The news of Sōmēśvara's death, and the division of the Hoysaḷa empire stimulated the Yādavas to renew their aggressions. Krisna Kandhara, who had accepted the treaty of peace from the Hoysaḷa king, died in A.D. 1260, and was succeeded by his younger brother Mahadēva. The Yādava forces at first marched to the west against the Kadamba chiefs of Banavasi and the Sāntaras of Hosaguṇḍa. Kadamba-Kāva-dēva was attacked in A. D. 1268[1]. Kāva-dēva evidently became a feudatory of the Yādavas; but subsequently he seems to have been attacked by Narasiṁha's army, for Sāluva Tikkama professes to have established the Kadamba king and disgraced the Hoysaḷa king[2]. The Yādava king Mahadēva marched into the Konkan and defeated Sōmēśvara the Sīlāhāra chieftain. The fugitives took shelter in ships but they were drowned. From this time onwards Konkan was annexed to the territories of the Yādavas[3].

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 125.

[2] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 100. Here the birth of a son to Somesvara is mentioned; it might be either Narasimha or Ramanatha but since the former's upanayana took place in A. D. 1255 the above inscription probably refers to him.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 125.

[4] *Ibid.*, Cn, 269.

[5] *Ibid.*, Bl, 126.

Sāntara Bommarasa was busy defending himself against the Yādava forces from the year A. D. 1264: and in A. D. 1270 he succeeded in repulsing them[4]; but he was utterly defeated by the army of Yādava Rāmachandra in A. D. 1276[5], after which time the country now represented by the Sagar Taluk, fell to the share of the Yādavas. By A. D. 1282 the Sāntara chief Bommarasa's son Tammarasa was ruling Hosaguṇḍa as a feudatory of the Yādavas[6].

During this time Narasiṁha was engaged in subduing the rebellions in the east, mostly instigated by his step-brother, Rāmanātha. But the most formidable enemy in these regions seems to have been the Irungōla king of Niḍugal with his capital at Hēmāvati. The Irungōla chiefs had previously suffered defeat at the hands of the Hoysaḷa kings from the time of Vishṇuvardhana. During the time of Narasiṁha III they obtained an able support from the Yādavas[7] and took courage to invade the Hoysaḷa territory. In A. D.

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[1] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 79.

[2] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 47.

[3] Bhandarkar, *History of the Deccan*. (*Bombay Gazetteer* I, part II, p. 246.

[4] *E. C.*, VIII, Sa, 137 to 140.

[5] *Ibid.*, Sa, 69-70.

[6] *E. C.*, VIII, Sa, 86.

[7] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 164, 165.

1269, the entire force of Irungōla allied with those of a local chieftain named Guleya-Nāyaka and raided Anebiddarasi-nāḍ which was then ruled by the Hoysaḷa minister Kumāra Vīra-Chikka Kētaya-Nāyaka[1]. In A. D. 1276 the Irungōla king allied with Sāluva-Tikkama and marched against Dōrasamudra[2]. This was evidently a rash step since single-handed Irungōla was no match to the Hoysaḷa king. Immediately afterwards the Hoysaḷa minister Chikka-Kētaya-Nāyaka carried on a successful expedition "with the East"[3] evidently against the Irungōla king. The letter made immediate preparations to fortify himself against further attacks. In A. D. 1278 he directed his minister Bēcha to build impregnable forts at Niḍugal and Hāniya "on account of enemies who would not submit[4]." But in A. D. 1285 Narasiṁha himself marched at the head of an army to the Niḍugal fort, and destroyed a village called Bāgeyakere[5].

While Narasiṁha was engaged in these expeditions the Yādavas, as described before, had already encroached, upon the territories of the Kadambas and the Sāntaras, and now they were preparing to attack the Hoysaḷas. In the previous reign they had usurped the important stronghold of Belagāmve. This was a safe place of retreat for them after carrying on raids in the neighbouring territories. In A. D. 1271 the Yādava king Mahādēva invaded into the Hoysaḷa territory with a large force of elephant and horse, but Narasiṁha put up such a strong opposition that he had to beat a hasty retreat in a single night saying "flight is best"[6].

The same year Mahādēva died and was succeeded by his son Āmaṇa but he was immediately deprived of his crown by his cousin Rāmachandra, the son of Krishna Kandhara[7]. In his time the seat of the Sēvuna government in the south was located at Bettur, close to Davanagere[1]. In A. D. 1275 Rāmachandra gave the government of the country from Rayanakhanda in the south to the Perddore on the north to his minister Tipparasa[2]. The steady progress of the Yādavas in the south endangered the Hoysaḷa kingdom and hence they started a formidable defence. They first attempted to regain their power in the neighbourhood of Banavasi[3]. The enmity between the two powers reached its climax in A. D. 1276. In the name of the Sēvuna king Rāmachandra, his general Sāluva Tikkama, assisted by Jeyi-dēva and Haripāla (probably some local chiefs) and strenghtened by the army of Irungōla invaded the Hoysaḷa territory and suddenly encamped at Beḷavāḍi, which is to the north of Haḷebiḍu, and laid seige to the fort. Another formidable ally of the Yādavas was the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Immaḍi Balaha Dēvarasa of the Sēturvina Rajya[4]. The enemy was so sure of victory that Sāluva Tikkama boasted "I will take Dōrasamudra in only one minute"; but the Hoysaḷa army put up a vigorous defence under the leadership Kumāra Chikka-Kētaya-daṇṇāyaka, and a bloody battle took place on the 25th of April resulting in a victory over the enemy who were driven back in confusion beyond Dummi, the hill on the Shimoga and Chitaldroog frontier. Prince Chikka-Kētaya's son Aṅkeya was the hero of the battle. "On Chikka-Kētaya asking 'who will conquer the army?' Aṅka himself responded with all his heart; and the champion over those who have new titles, smote and offered up as a sacrifice to the points of the compass the army of the Sēvunas spread over the four quarters, so that all the braves in the world shouted. Sparks flashed as scalps of heads flew off, while horses cut to pieces formed a sea of blood; and when the brave Aṅka fell upon and smote them, Haripāla was afraid, Sāluva fled, saying 'I am disgusted' and Jeyi-dēva beat his mouth—so fearlessly did he expose himself in this great battle. Though Sāluva had spread over the whole country in Beḷavāḍi, listen, Aṅka gave him time neither to remove his last encampment nor to take food, but attacked and drove him back as far as Dummi". Sāluva himself was in personal danger, the band of honour on his forehead being spoiled by the two generals Nañjeya and Gullaya[1]. A Yādava inscription however gives quite a different version. It informs us that Sāluva Tikkama captured the city of Dōrasamudra, accomplished his object, and took a tribute of all manner of wealth, especially of horses and elephants[2]. Though the levying of tribute from the Hoysaḷa king cannot be anything more than a boast yet it is evident that the Yādavas had plundered along the track of their expedition, and captured some of the northern territories of the Hoysaḷa kingdom. In A. D. 1277 the town of Harihara was under the Yādava king Rāmanātha, and there on his return from Dōrasamudra, Sāluva Tikkama erected the Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa temple in memory of his former sovereign Yādava Mahādēva and of his successful campaign against the Hoysaḷas[3]. The country now known as the Sorab Taluk, which had so long been a territory of the Hoysaḷas abounds in Yādava inscriptions after this date[4]. It is therefore clear that a large portion of the northern Hoysaḷa territory was conquered by Rāmachandra. Further, his titles signify his conquest of the Hoysaḷas. He styles himself "the disgracer of the Hoysaḷa Rāya and establisher of the Teluṅga Rāya"[5], "a rough hand on the bracelet of the Laksmi the Hoysaḷa king's empire"[6].

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[1] *E. C.*, XII, Tm, 49.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 176.

[3] *E. C.*, III, Md, 1.

[4] *E. C.*, XI, Mk, 20.

[5] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 151.

[6] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 39.

[7] *I. A.*, XIV, p. 314.

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[1] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p, 109.

[2] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 70.

[3] *Bombay Gazetteer*, XV, part II, p. 93.

[4] *E. C.*, VIII, Nr, 9.

The Hoysaḷas were not slow to retaliate. In A. D. 1285, as described before, Narasiṁha ousted the Yādava ally Irungōla, while his general Siṅgeya Nāyaka was engaged in a battle with the Yādava feudatory Chaundarasa at Kurugōḍu. The latter was killed[1]. By A. D. 1287 the Hoysaḷas recovered some of their territory in the north and therefore the Yādavas had to transfer their seat of government from Bettūr to the east at Bemmattan-Kallu the present Chitaldroog, which was then the centre of their territory in the south[2].

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 164, 165.
[2] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 47.
[3] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 44, 47; *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 59.
[4] Cf. *E. C.*, VIII.
[5] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 127.
[6] *E. C.* VII, Hl, 17.

In spite of the fact that Narasiṁha III made efforts to regain his lost power, the incessant feuds and the want of unity among the neighbouring powers brought ruin on the Hoysaḷa empire, and only a generation later it was destined to see its final downfall. Narasiṁha died in A. D. 1291, and again, according to the time honoured custom a faithful servant of the king committed suicide on his death, as his forefathers had done previously[3].

Narasiṁha assumed all the hereditary titles of his forefathers, but many of them do not have a meaning in his case. They run thus: Protector of all lands, favourite of earth and fortune, great king of kings, lord of Dwarāvati-pura, sun to the lotus feet of the Yādava kula, head ornament of the wise, king over the male rajas, champion among the Malepas, gaṇḍa beruṇḍa, unshaken warrior, sole hero, terrible in the field of battle, Malla of the Śanivāra Siddi, giri-durga, in bravery a Rāma, a lion to the elephants his enemies, a rare embodied manmatha, the setter up of the Chōḷa Raya, the protector of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, the setter up of columns of victory from Sētu to Vindhya, unequalled for valour, Śrī Vishṇuvardhana Pratāpa Chakravarti Hoysaḷa Bhujabala Śrī Vīra-Narasiṁha Dēvarasa[4]. The king signed himself as Malaparoḷ-gaṇḍa[5].

The domestic life of Narasiṁha is a blank, but a tradition regarding the tragic end of his sister calls for notice. The story is related to account for the destruction of Dōrasamudra. It goes:—

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[1] *E. C.*, VII, Ci, 24.

[2] *Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer*, II, p. 459.

[3] *M. A. R.*, 1914-15, p. 56.

[4] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 325.

[5] *E. C.*, III, Md, 79.

"The king's sister had been married to the Jingi Rāja, but was now a widow. She therefore came on a visit to her brother, accompanied by her two sons, Lakkana and Vīrana, who were very handsome young men. One of the king's wives conceived a guilty passion for them, but her advances being alike repelled by each in turn, her love changed to hate, and she denounced them to the king as having made overtures to her. The king, enraged, ordered them to be at once impaled, and their bodies exposed like those of common malefactors at one of the city gates. Hearing what had happened their unfortunate mother hastened to the palace to demand an enquiry and justice. But it was too late, the fatal order had been executed, and she was not only put out of the palace, but the inhabitants were forbidden to give her any assistance. In the agony of despair she wandered from street to street invoking the vengence of the Almighty on her brother and predicting the speedy downfall of his empire. Arriving at the potters' street, worn with fatigue and sorrow, she requested and received a draught of water, in return for which act of kindness she declared that in the destruction of the capital that street should be spared. It is the only one that has survived".[1] There is no inscription which corroborates this tradition. The strange survival of a street in an old ruined city must have led to the concoction of the story.

Narasiṁha's religious inclinations were towards Jainism. As described at the beginning of this chapter, he paid homage to the god Vijaya Pārśva of Boppa-dēva's basadi. An inscription dated A.D. 1282 mentions the *rāja guru* Nēmi-chandra-paṇḍita-dēva and praises the family of the Hoysaḷa king[2]. Nēmichandra was evidently the *guru* of Narasiṁha III.

But two inscriptions of A. D. 1288, found in Arsikere Taluk, mention Śaiva priests: *rāja-guru* Rudraśakti-dēva and *rāya-rāja-guru* maṇḍalāchārya-samaya-chakravarti Brahmarāsi guru[3]. Narasiṁha III had no doubt been partial towards

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[1] *Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer*, I, p. 219.

[2] *E. C.*, II, 334 (121).

[3] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 11 and 14.

Śaiva faith and perhaps acknowledged it as the state religion. His records reveal extensive grants made to Śaiva and Vaishnava temples made in different parts of the country. In A. D. 1276 he granted lands to Śaiva temples of the Liṅgāyat creed[1]. In A. D. 1276 he gave endowments to the Vaishnava and Śaiva quarters of the great agrahāra of Prasanna Sōmanāthapura established by some former noble while in A. D. 1281 he made grants to the Āchāryas, Vaishnavas and Nambiyars of that Agrahāra[2]. But the most notable help rendered by the king was to the temple at Vāranāsi or Benares. In A. D. 1278 he made a grant of the village Hebbala in Koṅgu-nāḍ together with its associated villages on the channel assessed at an annual rental of 648 pagōḍas and freed from all imposts, to provide for the taxes which the Karṇāṭa people (his subjects) resident in Kāśi had to pay to the Turukshas (the Mahomedan rulers) and for the daily offerings to the god Viśvēśvarā of Vāranāsi, for the chatra, the distribution of food and for all other religious works[3].

Narasiṁha had under him many notable ministers and feudatories. Among them Perumāḷe daṇṇāyaka stands supreme as the public benefactor. He was a Brahmin of the Ātriya gōtra of the Raṭṭa line, and his parents were Vishṇu Dēśha and Trivitta Mānchāle. It is said that once he offered up the head of the powerful king Ratnapāla to the Lakshmi of victory, though there was a screen (of the tent) between them, and capturing that tent *(javanīke)* obtained the name of Javanīke Nārāyaṇa[4]. His usual titles run as the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, his father-in-law's warrior, Rāutta-rāya, Javanīke Nārāyaṇa, plunderer of the Chōḷa camp, worshipper of the lotus feet of Rāmakrishna, Mahāpradhāna, the Brahmādhirāja Ganga Perumāḷe Dēvarasa, lord of Kōḷiganagaṭṭavritti in Pāṇḍya-nāḍ[5]. Perumāḷe was a great favourite of the king. In A. D. 1284 he rewarded him with an estate consisting of three villages together with their respective hamlets in the neighbour-hood of Bellur (Nagamangala Taluk) which was called the Udbhaya-Narasiṁhapura[1]. Here he had undertaken extensive irrigation works in A. D. 1270, chief among them being the rebuilding of Allāḷasamudra tank. The Brahmins admit that he had "expended much money and ensured a permanent supply of water in the channels of the rice-fields of Udbhaya-Narasiṁhapura"[2]. In A. D. 1285 he converted the Brahmapuri hill (one of the heights above Chitaldroog) into Perumāḷepura where he established a colony of Brahmins and purchased the Kuruba-Kaleya tank with lands under it for their maintenance[3]. The tank was improved[4]. Several other inscriptions can be cited referring to Perrumāḷe's religious endowments. It is interesting to note that he was a great educationalist. In A. D. 1290 we find him purchasing certain lands at Mailaṅge (the present Malingi) for the purpose of endowing a college where instructions were imparted not only in Rigveda but also in Nāgara, Kannaḍa, Tigula (Tamil) and Ārya (Marathi)[5].

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 39.

[2] *E. C.*, III, Tn, 97-100, 101.

[3] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 276.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[5] *E. C.*, VII, Hl, 11, 90; *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 39.

Perumāḷe's mother Trivitta Mānchāle or Mānchiyakka makes her appearance in a Belur inscription dated in the year A. D. 1280 where she makes provisions for the rearing of *vṛindāvanas* (flower beds generally for *toḷasi* shrubs) so that flowering lavender may be offered to the god Narasiṁha[6]. Perumale had three sons called Laksmi-Nārāyaṇa-daṇṇayaka, Ponnappa and Allappa[7].

Another prominent minister was the king's nephew (his elder sister's son) Sōmeya daṇṇāyaka, who had the titles Gayi-gōpāla, gaṇḍa peṇḍara, Maṇḍaḷīka, born to be an adopted son, the senior dannāyaka.[8] Sōmeya is said to have been associated with the king's son Ballāḷa, in the administration of the country and the command of the army[1]. Though this personage is not famed for his military achievements, yet his high rank in court, together with the fact that he was the nephew of the reigning monarch raised him in the esteem of the people. He was a very religious man. The Sōmanāthapur temple, raised by him stands even to the present day as a testimony of his generosity and the perfection of Hoysaḷa architecture. The temple and the great agrahāra attached to it were built in A. D. 1270, with the help of the king, on the occasion of the marriage of Sōmeya's daughters to Malli-dēva, an officer of the army and to Chikka Kēteya daṇṇāyaka whom the king had cherished like his own son. Malli-dēva and Chikka Kēteya are entitled Kumāras and are said to be the sons of the king[2]. "Son" is only an expression of endearment and cannot always be taken in its literal sense. Mallīdēva and Chikka Kēteya were the nephews of Sōmeya; and Chikka Kēteya is expressly said to have been Sōmeya's sister's son[3]. In the temple Sōmeya erected several gods among which are Prasanna Kēśava, Gaṇḍa Peṇḍara Gōpāla, Varada Janārdhana, and within the precincts the six Brahma, twelve Haṁsa Narāyaṇa, ten Matsya, twelve Śankarasana, twelve Krishna-Avatāra, and on the banks of the Kāveri, the gods Lakshmi-Narasiṁha, Yōga Nārāyaṇa, and the god Sarangapani of Malavalli. He also made lavish grants for all the teachers of science (*sarva śāstra upādhyāyarige*)[4].

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[1] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 38.

[2] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 48, 49.

[3] *E. C.*, XI, Cd, 12, 7.

[4] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 12.

[5] *E. C.*, III, Tn, 27.

[6] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 155.

[7] *E. C.*, IV, Ch, 13; *E. C.*, IX, Db, 57.

[8] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 324.

Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka's guru was the learned Gangādharāya. He was intolerant towards alien religions. Thus he styles himself "a sun to the darkness the prevailing Charvvāka and Baudha" doctrines and "an embodiment of Agastya in ability to swallow up the shining Jaina ocean"[4].

Sōmeya had an elder brother called Maleya, who oc-

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[1] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 7.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 150, 165.

[3] *E. C.*, III, Tn, 97.

[4] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 325.

[5] *B. C.*, XI, Dg, 36.

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cupied the post of a general in the army[1]. Besides Malli-dēva and Chikka Kēteya, Sōmeya, had another son-in-law, named gāyi-gōvaḷa, gaṇḍa-peṇḍara, Maṇḍaḷika-jūbū, the great minister kumara Dorabhakkare-daṇṇāyaka who was ruling a kingdom in the east[2].

Kumāra Chikka Kēteya Nāyaka, the son-in-law and nephew of Somēya daṇṇāyaka, and the foster son of the king was another important figure at the Hoysaḷa court. As seen in the beginning of this chapter, it was he that drove Sāluva Tikkama in the year A. D. 1276 from Dōrasamudra and thus saved his country from imminent peril. But later on he seems to have turned refractory towards his sovereign for in A. D. 1279 the king being angry with him, arrested him and dismissed Meye-dēva from his treasury. Kēteya's son Aṅkeya Nāyaka was also attacked by the king's men[3]. Chikka Kēteya's grand-son, and the son of Aṅkeya, had died in the battle with Sāluva Tikkaṇa at Beḷavādi in A. D. 1276[4].

Among the important feudatories Malli-dēva and his son Harihara were ruling the Chāngālva territory between A. D. 1280 and 1300[5]. Sāmantha Mācha was the ruler of Kulkani-nāḍ, and in A. D. 1260 he is found marching against the Male army[6].

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *E. C.*, IX, Kn, 72.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 166.

[4] *Ibid.*, Bl, 167.

[5] *E. C.*, I, Cg, 54, 55, 59.

[6] *E. C.* IV, Ng, 97. Among other, generals and officers of the King we find Kuttana Heggade, Master of Robes (*E. C.*, V, Ak. 8); great minister Bimayya dannayaka (*E. C.*, V, Ak. 8); great minister Bireya-dannayaka (*E. C.*, V, Ak. 10); Junior Nonabeya Nayaka, ruler of Chalukeya vritti (*E. C.*, VI, Kd, 124); great minister Mallikarjuna (*E. C.*, VI, Gu, 80); great minister Hergade Kallaya (*E. C.*, IV, Gu, 72); Sarvadhikari Samasta-senadhipati Mullular Devar, Teruvalandurai Udaiyar of Emapperur (*E. C.*, IX, Cp, 38); Serupayi-dannayaka (*E. C.*, IX, Kn, 83); Hiriya Keleya Dannayaka (*E. C.*, IX, Kn, 80); the Mahamandalesvara Bachi Devarasa, lord of Nandigiri, residing at Yelahanka (*E. C.*, IX, Db, 31); Madugeya dannayaka (*E. C.*, VII, Sh, 61, 62); minister Paramesvara (*E. C.*, V, Bl, 87); treasurer Singeya (*E. C.*, V, Cn, 261).

CHAPTER XIV

Ramanatha, A. D. 1254-1295
and
Visvanatha, A. D. 1295-1297.

Contemporaries:

Hoysaḷa Kings:—

Narasiṁha III, A. D. 1254-1291.
Ballāḷa III, A. D. 1291-1342.

Pāṇḍya Kings:—

Jātavarmaṇ Sundara Pāṇḍya I, A. D. 1251-1271.

Rāmanātha, the son of Sōmēśvara and Dēvala-dēvi assumed sovereignty over the Tamil districts of the Hoysaḷa kingdom. It was very unfortunate that a territory which was plundered by the Pāṇḍyas should have fallen to his share. Even his capital, the city of Kannanūr, was occupied by the enemy. His father died in battle in A. D. 1256 bequeathing to him a disputed territory, without organisation and without a capital. It has been said before that an inscription of Rāmanātha belonging to the year A. D. 1257 was found in Śrīrangam.[1] But in A. D. 1264 Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya issued orders from there regarding a gift of land.[2] This shows that though the conquered territories were restored to Rāmanātha, the Pāṇḍyas still held sway. The situation can be better understood in the light of the fact that Rāmanātha had by this time transferred his capital to a place called Kundāṇi or Kandāṇa, where he was mostly residing during the later years of his reign [1]. The object of this transfer was evidently to take shelter in a place secure from the attacks of the Pāṇḍyas, if they were so disposed, and from the inimical disposition of the Vaishṇava priests of the Srīrangam island which had been sorely neglected by his father who was a staunch Śaivaite. That the Vaishṇavas of Śrīrangam were inimical towards the Hoysaḷas can be gauged from an inscription there which was written immediately after the conquest of the island by Jātavarman in A. D. 1256. At the very outset it gives vent to the wounded feelings of the Vaishṇavas who presume that " Śrīranga had been reduced to a pitiable state" under the rule of Hoysaḷa Sōmēśvara, and praises the Pāṇḍya king [2].

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[1] *I. A.,* XI, p. 137.

[2] Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions,* I, p. 112.

But that Śrīrangam had been actually restored to Rāmanātha can be understood from several other inscriptions in that island dated in the 2nd, 7th, 15th, and 17th years of Rāmanātha[3]. Another inscription dated in the fifteenth year of Rāmanātha *i. e.* about A. D. 1269 records his gift, to a private person, of four ornaments, to be given to the Raṅganātha temple. The person mentioned here had previously received these ornaments from Vīra Pāṇḍya [4]. Therefore it is evident that immediately after the defeat of the Hoysaḷas in A. D. 1256, the island was restored to them. The inscriptions referred to above were mostly found at the Raṅganātha temple recording the gifts of Rāmanātha. Thus it may be supposed that the treaty of peace between the two powers included the clause that Rāmanātha should patronise Vaishṇavism. The Raṅganātha temple was the chief centre of that sect.

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[1] *E. C.*, XII, Tm, 27 and 28.
[2] *E. I.*, III, p. 14.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[4] Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, III, p. 1568.

After the death of Sōmēśvara the Chōḷas came to be the allies of the Hoysaḷas, and Rāmanātha and his son assumed the hereditary title "establisher of the Chōḷa kingdom"[1]. Two of Rāmanātha's inscriptions have been found in Nallūr and Suiamaṅgalam (Tanjore District)[2]. This affords a proof of Hoysaḷa domination over the Chōḷa territories, as the suzerain power.

Thus having settled peacefully with his Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya neighbours Rāmanātha directed all his attention to the north against his half brother Narasiṁha III. It has been seen that Sōmēśvara had divided his kingdom between them, but nothing is known about the political relationship between the two brothers. In the Pāṇḍya kingdom the custom was similar; *i. e.* division of the kingdom between two or more brothers, but invariably one of them was acknowledged as the supreme emperor while the others were subordinate to him. We find another parallel instance in the early Vijayanagar rulers; Bukka and Harihara were said to be ruling together, but the former was the supreme king. Contrary to these customs, Narasiṁha and Rāmanātha seem to have been independent of each other as can be gathered from the inscriptions. But suspicion arises as to why Rāmanātha should have been hostile towards his brother. It may be that Sōmēśvara did not make a satisfactory division of the kingdom, or that he had placed Narasiṁha in a superior position which Rāmanātha was not prepared to acknowledge. The latter theory seems probable because (a) such was the custom among their neighbours, the Pāṇḍyas, (b) Sōmēśvara's object was to affect better administrations and a more efficient defence against the enemies, but a perfect division of his kingdom would defeat his purpose, (c) the continuous battles of Rāmanātha were made probably to sever all political connections with his brother and to remain independent.

As stated before Rāmanātha had transferred his capital to a place called Kundāṇi, where he was mostly residing; but

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[1] Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, II, p. 1215.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 1364, 1366.

Kannanūr was the alternative capital. Since the latter place was not safe, and also since his attention was directed towards the northern and western territories, he had to select Kuṇḍāṇi as his capital. In one place Rāmanātha's kingdom is called Hesar-Kundāṇi[1]. Mr. Rice identifies Kuṇḍaṇi with the modern Kundāṇa near Dēvanahaḷḷi in the Bangalore District[2]: his reason for this suggestion is only the phonetical resemblance between the two words. But Mr. Krishna Sastry identifies Kundāṇi with another place; quoting Mr. J. F. Richards, I. C. S., he presumes that Kundāṇi has to be identified with a village above the ghats of the same name near Hosur in the Salem District. The "Hesar-Kundāṇi" kingdom, referred to above must have been so named after Kundāṇi near Hosur. The place still shows ruins of fortifications and structural monuments indicating its past greatness[3]. Mr. Sastry's opinion seems to be correct.

We understand from the inscriptions that the collision between the two brothers took place as early as A. D. 1260[4]. In an inscription at Belur dated in the next year, after the battle of A. D. 1260, we are pointedly informed that the king Narasiṁha was residing in his own Hoysaḷa country in the proper capital Dōrasamudra filled with all wealth, which his father had with affection stored with the riches of the kingdom[5]. It is therefore to be inferred that Rāmanātha had come to fight for a proper share of the kingdom.

During the next decade Narasiṁha was engaged in a death-struggle with the Yādavas and their allies, the Irungōlas. In A. D. 1276 Narasiṁha successfully drove Sāluva Tikkama's army out of his territory[6]. In A. D. 1285 he marched against Irungōla and completely defeated him[7].

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[1] *E. C.*, X, Mr, 100.

[2] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 107.

[3] *A. S. I. R.*, 1909-10, p. 158.

[4] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 206.

[5] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 74.

[6] *Ibid.*, Bl, 164, 165.

[7] *Ibid.*, Ak, 151.

When Narasiṁha was thus engaged Rāmanātha marched into his territory in A. D. 1280 and killed Siṅgeya daṇṇāyaka[1]. During this period the feudatories of Narasiṁha seem to have been engaged in petty skirmishes in the east of the kingdom, apparently with the forces of Rāmanātha. In A. D. 1262 Narasiṁha himself is said to have struck down the enemy from Nirakal in the east[2]. In the same year his feudatory Chōḷa Gaunḍa gained a victory at Kāḍuvitti (in North Arcot District)[3]. In A. D. 1285 'the Tolavi army' had marched into the Hoysaḷa territory[4]; and in the next year Bhīma Gaunḍa ruler of Tungaṇi-nāḍ, fell in a skirmish[5]. Hence it is evident that there was much disturbance on the eastern boundary of Narasiṁha's kingdom.

An inscription in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīrangam dated in A. D. 1294 informs us that subsequent to A. D. 1272 Narasiṁha succeeded or supplanted his step-brother Rāmanātha[6]; we are therefore to suppose that the latter suffered a defeat at the hands of Narasiṁha. But Rāmanātha was making preparations for another attack against Narasiṁha.

In A. D. 1280 a formidable invasion took place under the leadership of Rāmanātha, who had allied with the Gajāpati king. He met the forces of Narasiṁha at a place called Soleūr, (probably in the Tumkur District)[7]. The Gajāpatis or "the elephant lords" as their name indicates, were perhaps a dynasty of the Ganga-Pallava line. A line of kings under the same title were ruling Orissa in the fourteenth century, and they had collisions with the Vijayanagar kings. In the thirteenth century the kingdom of Orissa was ruled by Ganga-Pallava kings, and at the time of the battle in question Narasiṁha Dēva was on the throne[8]. It is not improbable that previously the Hoysaḷas had connections with the rulers of Orissa. An Orissa prince had led an army of the Huliyera chiefs in favour of Narasiṁha I. Vishṇuvardhana in his expeditions had marched northwards on the east coast as far as Orissa and even further. Rāmanātha being also the ruler of the territory now comprising the Kolar District, and having always to stay there in connection with his wars with Narasiṁha must have entered into an alliance with some eastern chiefs called the Gajāpatis.

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[1] *Ibid.*, Ak, 149.
[2] *E. C.*, VI, Tk, 71.
[3] *E. C.*, III.
[4] *E. C.*, IX, Cp, 6.
[5] *Ibid.*, Cp. 57.
[6] *E. I.*, III, p. 11.
[7] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 187.
[8] Mazumdar, *Orissa in the Making*, p. 202.

The battle at Soleūr ended in a victory for Rāmanātha, and apparently a treaty of peace was concluded. From this time onwards till A. D. 1300 almost all the Hoysaḷa inscriptions in the Tumkur and Tiptur Taluks and not a few in the Taluks of the Bangalore District belong to Rāmanātha[1]; and hence it is evident that as a result of the treaty a large portion of Narasiṁha's eastern territory was ceded to his brother. But the enmity between the brothers did not end with the battle in A. D. 1280. Two years later there was another fight. In A. D. 1289 Rāmanātha waged war in connection with the territory of Beṭṭadakōṭe[2]. Finally in A. D. 1290 while Narasiṁha was residing at Dōrasamudra, Rāmanātha raised an army and came to fight, probably at the gates of Dōrasamudra[3]. The next year Narasiṁha died but with his death there was no cessation of feuds. Ballāḷa III ascended the throne of Dōrasamudra. Whatever the dispositions of Rāmanātha towards his nephew may have been, the latter was too strong for him to tackle. Rāmanātha made fresh incursions in Ballāḷa's kingdom, now specially in the Bangalore district. In A. D. 1292 Rāmanātha's forces made an attack but he was apparently repulsed[4]. His army again invaded in A. D. 1294 and then again in the next year[5]. But his ambition of absorbing his nephew's territory into his own was thwarted, for in A. D. 1295 he died and four years later Ballāḷa absorbed all the territories of Viśvanātha, and became the supreme emperor[1].

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[1] *E. C.*, XII and *E. C.*, IX.

[2] *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 55.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 232.

[4] *E. C.*, IX, Ka, 28.

[5] *Ibid.*, Cp, 183, 179.

The last date for Rāmanātha is the 41st year of his reign *i. e.* A. D. 1296[2]. In A. D. 1293 the king seems to have fallen ill, for a chief of the name of Mañjeya-Māguttar made a grant on the day of Śadaya (Śatabhishā) nakshatra, the star under which the king was born "for the health of the king's sacred body".[3] In A. D. 1295 the same noble again made a grant for the same purpose.[4] But the king did not recover from his illness. He seems to have been bed-ridden for over two years and died in A. D. 1295, for nothing is heard of him after this date.

Mañjeya-Māguttar, who showed special interest in the health of the king was the son of Irāmana Dēvar. "Irāmana Dēvar" is the alternative of "Rāmanātha" and many inscriptions under that name have been found in the Bowringpet Taluk[5] and therefore it is to be supposed that Mañjeya-Māguttar was the son of Rāmanātha himself.

Rāmanātha retained all the titles of his fore-fathers: Mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara, paramabhaṭṭāraka, lord of the excellent city of Dvārāvati, sun in the sky of the Yādava family, crest-jewel of the all-knowing, king of the hill-kings, champion over the hill chiefs, terrible to warriors, fierce in war, unassisted hero, Śanivāra-siddhi, Giridurga-Malla, a Rāma in firmness of character, a lion to the elephants his enemies, establisher of the Makara kingdom, raiser up of the Pāṇḍya family, the fearless pratāpa-chakravarti, the strong-armed Hoysaḷa Śrī-Vīra-Rāmanātha-Dēvarasa.[6] He signed himself in Kanarese ಮಲಪರೊಳ್ಗಂಡ (Malaparoḷgaṇḍa).[7]

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[1] *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 51.

[2] *E. C.*, X, Bp. 25 a.

[3] *Ibid.*, Bp. 23.

[4] *Ibid.*, Bp. 25. a & b.

[5] *E. C.*, X, Bp. 23, 25, 27.

[6] *E. C.*, X, Kl, 27.

[7] Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, III, p. 1563.

Rāmanātha was succeeded by his son Viśvanātha. The first inscription which mentions his name is dated in the 27th year of Sōmēśvara (*i.e.* A.D. 1261). It informs us that the king made a grant for the prosperity of Viśvanātha[1]. But Sōmēśvara died in A. D. 1256 and therefore it can be inferred that it is the renewal of a grant in which the years of the king's reign were counted even after his death. Viśvanātha was crowned before the death of his father in A. D. 1293, when the latter had fallen ill. For an inscription of A. D. 1297 informs us that it was the fourth year of the reign of Hoysaḷa Viśvanātha[2]. The incursions against Ballāḷa in the period between A. D. 1292 and 1295 were probably conducted by Viśvanātha on behalf of his father.

The inscriptions of the reign of Viśvanātha do not extend beyond A. D. 1297, but it is to be supposed that he continued to reign till A. D. 1300 or A. D. 1301 for it was only in this year that his territory was ceded to Ballāḷa[3]. Thus Viśvanātha's reign extended to about eight years, but it was a very uneventful one. Except for a few grants made during his time nothing is known about him.

The subjects of Rāmanātha and Viśvanātha depicted an intolerant attitude towards alien religions. Unlike the people of Karnāṭaka, the Chōḷas had always shown a tendency towards fanaticism. During the time of Vishṇuvardhana the people of the Chōḷa empire, headed by their king himself had shown bitter enmity towards Rāmānuja and his creed. During the reign of Sōmēśvara the Vaisṇavas of Śrīrangam resented the partiality of the Hoysaḷa king towards the Śaiva religion and flamed the wrath of Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. In the reign of Rāmanātha there was a determined attempt for the suppression of Jainism. Some inscriptions in the Kolar Taluk inform us that a tax was levied on the Ajīvakas or Jains[4]. The word "Ajīvaka" indicates that they were considered to be heretics.

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[1] *M. E. R.*, 1913, p. 58.
[2] *E. C.*, IX, Ht, 130.
[3] *Ibid.*, Bn, 51.
[4] *E. C.*, X, Kl, 18 & 28.

Rāmanātha and his subjects were however intensely religious. The king himself was almost deified by the people. Provisions were made to celebrate a festival called Raṇa-mukharāman śandi after the king in the temple of Pō-śalīśuramuḍaiya Nāyanār at Kannanūr[1]. In A. D. 1294, when the king fell ill, Sikka-dēva-daṇṇāyakkar Anamalai-dēvar instituted a festival in a Śaiva temple on the day of the star under which the king was born, in the month of Sittirai, for the benefit of the king's sacred body[2]. Sometimes the faithful subjects offered grants to a temple for the success of the sacred body, sword and arm of the king[3], evidently when the king was marching to the battle-field.

The king himself was a patron of both Vaishṇavism and Śaivism, though his leanings were towards the latter. The temple that won the greatest popularity among the subjects and the highest royal favour was the one at Tirumaḷapāḍi in the Trichinopoly District. Almost all the inscriptions of the time of Rāmnātha in the Trichinopoly District come from that place, and they uniformly record private gifts of gold or land for providing for the sacred bath of the god Tirumaḷapāḍi Uḍaiyār an unfailing supply of potfuls of Kāverī water, which seems to have acquired special sanctity at this place on account of the northward deflection in the course of the river[4].

Very little is known about Rāmanātha's family. One of the queens of Rāmanātha was Kamalā-dēvi, the daughter of a certain Ariya Piḷḷai[5] who, as his name indicates, was a man of southern extraction. Kamalā-dēvi's younger sister was Chikka-Sōmala-dēvi, who appears to have received the Kanarese prefix "chikka" in order to distinguish her from the elder Sōmala-dēvi who was one of the queens of Rāmanātha's father Sōmēśvara[1]. Rāmanātha's sister Ponnambala-mahādēvi appears to have paid a visit to her brother in the year A. D. 1266. In this year she made a gift to the Raṅgaṇātha temple at Śrīrangam[2]. A temple inscription mentions the name of one Nāgala-mahādēvi during the reign of Rāmanātha[3]. May be she was another queen of his.

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[1] Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, III, p. 1526.

[2] *E. C.*, X, Ct, 88.

[3] *Ibid.*, Mr, 37, 38, 43, Kl, 18, 28.

[4] *M. E. R.*, 1920, p. 119.

[5] Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, III, p. 1561.

Among the feudatories of Rāmanātha the most important were the Tamil Gangas of Kolar who though known to be the feudatories of the Hoysaḷas during the preceeding one or two centuries, had rarely acknowledged their suzerainty. Ganga Perumal alias Ayyan-aṅkakāṛa-Tuṭṭaraditta-Rāja-Nārayāṇa-Brahmādhirāyer, son of Vasināyan was the contemporary of Rāmanātha. In two instances he acknowledged the suzerainty of Rāmanātha[4].

Another important feudatory was Viruda-Murāri-Aināyan who styled himself the lord of the city of Kānchi[5].

The Chōḷa empire had by this time fallen and had been absorbed by the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysaḷas. The nobles of the Chōḷa dynasty had scattered, holding petty principalities under superior rulers. Two such feudatories appear under Rāmanātha towards the end of the thirteenth century in the Bangalore District. They were Kulōtunga Sōḷa Tagadādirāyar Māra Śika-dēvar and Irajairaja-Karkaṭa-mahārājan[6].

Rāmanātha's ministers were: Śikka-Dēvaṇa-daṇṇayakara Aṇṇāmalai-dēvar, the great minister and councillor of *maṇḍalikas*[7]; Mahāpradhāna Vīrayya daṇṇanātha[8]; great ministers Nichaya daṇṇāyaka and Kambayya daṇṇayaka[9]. The latter was a very popular official with titles such as "the king of death to chieftains, a lord without fear, champion over the three kings." He was a great philanthropist, paying special attention to the water supply of his country[1]. Kumāra Vīra Siṅgeya, son of Mārūr Chikka-Kētaya was the great house minister of Rāmanātha[2].

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[1] *E. I.* III, p. 9.

[2] Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, II, p. 1568.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 1563.

[4] *M. A. R.*, 1913-14, p. 44, *E. C.*, X, Kl, 95.

[5] *E. C.*, X, Bp, 33.

[6] *E. C.*, IX, Bn, 91, a 100.

[7] *Ibid.*, Kl, 18.

[8] *M. E. R.*, 1920, p. 119.

[9] *E. C.*, IX, Nl, 63.

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[1] *E. C.*, XII, Tm, 17, 18, 27, 28, 33.

[2] *Ibid.*, Tm, 56. Other officers of Ramanatha were Kadai Chchetti, minister (*E. C.*, X, Ct, 91); Nambi, the Maha-pasayita and the chief of Ubhaya-Nanadesi (*E. C.*, X, Bp, 68 a); ministers Manjya Mavuttar and Ilavanjirayar (*E. C.*, X, Kl, 239); Kesai Arasar or Virchunai (*E. C.*, X, Sp, 36); Ganganada dannayaka (Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, III, p. 1618); Gopaya dannayaka (Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, I, p. 68); Pakkadi-kara Somaya dannayaka (*M. E. R.*, 1913, p. 128).

CHAPTER XV

Ballala III A. D. 1291-1342
and
Ballala IV A. D. 1341-1345

Contemporaries:

Hoysaḷa Kings:—
    Rāmanātha, A. D. 1254-1295.
    Viśvanātha, A. D. 1295-1297.
Yādava Kings:—
    Ṛāmachandra, A. D. 1271-1310.
    Śaṅkara, A. D. 1310-1312.
    Harapāla, A. D. 1318.
Wārangal Kings:—
    Rudra Dēva.
    Krishṇa Naik.
Pāṇḍya Kings:—
    Māravarman Kulaśēkara, A. D. 1268-1310.
Vijayanagara Kings:—
    Harihara, A. D. 1336-1353.
Sultans of Delhi:—
    Ala-ud-din, A. D. 1296-1316.
    Mubarak, A. D. 1317-1321.
    Ghias-ud-din Tughlak, A. D. 1321-1325.
    Muhammad Tughlak, A. D. 1325-1351.
Sultans of Madura:—
    Ghias-ud-din, A. D. 1342.

Ballāḷa III was the successor of Narasiṁha. His reign marks the final down-fall of the Hoysāḷa empire which had held sway in Mysore for over three centuries. Though the direct cause of its down-fall is attributed to the Muhammadan invasion, yet it has to be noted that the internal disunion and anarchy in Southern India paved the way for Muhammadan vandalism. The Chōḷas had already been anihilated, the Pāṇḍyas were disputing with one another for supremacy, and the Yādavas and Hoysaḷas were thirsting for each other's destruction. The dual power in the Hoysaḷa country itself was one of the causes of its downfall.

Ballāḷa who figures as the greatest hero in the dark political atmosphere of the south can be said to have been the third great Hoysaḷa monarch. While Vishṇuvardhana and Ballāḷa II win our admiration for their to expand and consolidate their empire, Ballāḷa III stands supreme for his international military organisation and his indefatigable zeal in thwarting the Muslim power in the south.

When Ballāḷa III was anointed as king on the 1st of February, A. D. 1292[1], the Hoysaḷa kingdom was in a state of disorganisation. Step by step the Yādavas were encroaching upon the northern territories; Rāmanātha was making incessant efforts to overthrow young Ballāḷa from the throne, while the feudatories were taking the advantage of the troubles to assume independence, and the military generals were apparently inclined to transfer their alligiance from one king to another. On the western boundary especially there was anarchy and war. Rāmanātha had secretly set his agents to win over Ballāḷa's feudatories on the Ghats. In about A. D. 1290 when Ballāḷa was ruling, "on Lankeya daṇṇāyaka's force, with Keladi Adidēmaṇṇa and Nāgaṇṇa, marching an army against Aṇāmiya daṇṇāyaka to the Ghat country—the Mahāsāmanta....Nāchi Nāyaka's son Bideya ....the agent of Rāmanātha of Kaḍaba having said 'ask for a boon' so as to excite the admiration of Hoysaṇa's retinue, smote around conquered both and went to the world of gods[1]". The succession to the throne of the Hoysaḷas by Ballāḷa was apparently disputed. On the very day of his coronation, one Marakāla of the house of Sundara Pāṇḍya invaded the territory of Vīra-Pāṇḍya of the Kālaśa Kārkala line, who were the feudatories of Ballāḷa III, apparently with the object of demanding the Khāṇḍya agrahāra; whereupon a battle took place between the two forces[2].

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[1] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 36.

It has been seen in the previous chapter how Rāmanātha denied the royal titles to his nephew and made incursions in his territory. Even before Ballāḷa came to the throne he had absorbed a large portion of his nephew's territory now comprising the Tumkur and the Bangalore districts. But his death in A. D. 1295 cut short his ambition. His successor Viśvanātha reigned for a few years, but he does not seem to have had the abilities of his father. Viśvanātha is not heard of after A. D. 1297; and in A. D. 1301 his territories passed over to Ballāḷa[3]. It is not to be supposed that Ballāḷa succeeded Viśvanātha as a matter of course. The former had realised the futility of his grand-father's design of placing the Hoysaḷa empire under a dual control. Instead of helping to organise the government it had completely disorganised it. It is extremely probable, though there is no evidence to the effect, that Ballāḷa had encroached upon the territories of Viśvanātha, before or after his death, and taken possession of his crown.

In A. D. 1301 Ballāḷa issued orders in Tamil to the heads of *maṭhas* and temple priests in the districts previously held by his kinsman remitting all taxes and confirming the villages granted to them as endowments. The districts mentioned are (in the Hesar-Kundāṇi kingdom)—Virivi-nāḍu, Māśandi-nāḍu, Muraśa-nāḍu, Elavūr-nāḍu, Kuvaḷāla-nāḍu, Kaivāra-nāḍu, Ilaipākka-nāḍu, and others. Muraśa-nāḍu is in the

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[1] *E. C.*, XII, Gb, 58.

[2] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 36.

[3] Vide *supra*, 213.

Kolar District, Kuvaḷāla is Kolar itself, Kaivāra is in the north-west of Kolar and Ilaipākka is the Tamil form of Yelahanka in the north of Bangalore. These grants generally begin as: "The Pratapa-Chakravartti Poyśaḷa-Villāḷa-Dēvan addresses the following petition to the heads of *maṭhas* and *sthānikas* etc."; and end: "Be pleased to see that adequate provision is made for the items... for the respective gods, and live happily praying for the prosperity of ourselves and our kingdom"[1]. It was a master stroke of policy. If there was any way of winning over a people it was by making liberal grants to Brahmans.

Ballāḷa had nevertheless lost Rāmanātha's territories in the extreme south namely the place now known as Trichinopoly and Tanjore Districts[2]. He retained all the titles of his fore-fathers indicating hostility towards the kings of the south, such as "Adiyama's Yama" and "uprooter of Magara kingdom"[3]. The Niḍugal principality which had been devasted by Narasiṁha III had apparently regained its independence and even as late as A. D. 1487 the chiefs of that province retained the title "subduer of the Hoysaḷa army"[4].

Just at this period the Muhammadan rulers of northern India had directed their attention to the Hindu kingdoms of the south. They first noticed the rising power of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, decided to defeat them, and in the flush of victory they did not hesitate to carry on extensive depredations in all the kingdoms of the south. The Yādavas had been a constant source of trouble to the Hoysaḷas from the time of Ballāḷa II. Their rule, extending over nearly two centuries, marks a spirit of aggression and a thirst for power. Just as they were practising vandalism in the south so also they made efforts to carry their arms to the north. This attracted the attention of the Muhammadan rulers of Delhi.

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[1] *E. C.*, X, Mr, 71, 100; Cb, 20; *E. C.*, IX, Bm, 51, 65; Nl, 38.

[2] *Q. J. M. S.*, II, p. 128.

[3] *E. C.*, XI, Hk, 136.

[4] *E. C.*, XII, Pg, 54.

It was the time of Khalji imperialism. Before the rule of the Khalji's Mahomedan power had not been firmly established in India. Their predecessors were busy consolidating and organising the territories which they had conquered by force of arms. But now that they had well established themselves they saw for the first time the possibility of expanding their territory in all directions [1].

The first territory that attracted the notice of the government of Delhi was the kingdom of the Yādavas. The fabulous wealth of these Hindu kings and the abundance of the produce of their country tempted the young and ambitious prince Ala-ud-din who was then governing Karrah-Manikpur on the Ganges near Allahabad. On the excuse that the Yādavas were carrying on an aggressive warfare against the neighbouring kingdoms, and that they were a menace to the throne of Delhi, Ala-ud-din secured permission in 1294 from King Jalal-ud-din, his uncle, to collect a strong force and march on the kingdoms of the south [2]. After destroying the petty states of Telingana he attacked the fort of Dēvagiri. Yādava Rāmachandra was taken by surprise and defeated. Fearing a complete destruction of his kingdom he came to terms with Ala-ud-din. Meanwhile Rāmachandra's son Śankara, who had withdrawn from the scene to enlist the sympathy of the neighbouring feudatories returned with a large force to attack the enemy, but he was completely defeated. Rāmachandra found himself in difficulties. The fort was beseiged, the people were starving and the best of his soldiers were imprisoned. Peace was ultimately concluded. The terms were that Ala-ud-din should evacuate the country on the receipt of a large amount of treasure in the shape of precious stones and gold. Besides Ellichpur and its dependencies were ceded to Ala-ud-din that he might be able to leave there a garrison for the collection of the revenues. Thus Rāmachandra became a feudatory of the Khaljis.

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[1] Cf. *J. I. H.*, I, p. 147.

[2] *Ferishta-Briggs*, I, p. 304-319.

For some time after A. D. 1295 the Yādavas were left unmolested by the Mussulmans owing to which Rāmachandra became irregular in the payment of tribute[1]. It was at this time that he turned his attention towards the conquest of the southern territories. He showed a special enmity towards the Hoysaḷas and styled himself a "a destroying elephant to the root of the vine Ballāḷa-Rāya"[2]. In A. D. 1303 he sent an army under the command of his general Kampila-dēva to beseige Hoḷalkere. Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka, the governor of Bemmatura-durga put up a vigorous defence, but he was killed. Ballāḷa himself was on the scene of battle. He is said to have exclaimed "bravo" to encourage Sōmeya[3]. Reference is made to the same battle in an inscription of Hoḷalkere which informs us that Kandaii-dēva marched into Hoḷalkere when a nobleman under Ballāḷa attacked him; but he was killed in battle[4]. The Yādava king apparently became more and more aggressive, and in A. D. 1305 Ballāḷa had to march into his territories with the determination to capture him; but he seems to have failed in the expedition[5].

Rāmachandra's rise to power reached the ears of Ala-ud-din. In A. D. 1306 he placed a large army under the command of his general Malik Kafur and sent him to reduce the Deccan. At this time it so happened that Ala-ud-din was bent upon securing a princess named Dēvala-dēvi, the daughter of King Karṇa-dēva of Gujerat. After the defeat of the latter in A. D. 1297 his queen had been taken away and confined in the royal harem at Delhi. Now that she had become a favourite of Ala-ud-din she was desirous of having her daughter Dēvala-dēvi at Delhi; and hence Alaf Khan, the governor of

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[1] Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 532.
[2] *E. C.*, XI, Jl, 30.
[3] *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 40.
[4] *E. C.*, XI, Hk, 106.
[5] *E. C.*, VIII, Sa, 156.

Gujerat was enjoined to capture the princess. Karṇa-dēva had intended to marry her to Śaṅkara the son of Rāmachandra, and as she was being escorted to Dēvagiri, she was captured by Mussulmans and carried to Delhi. The troops of Alaf Khan reinforced Malik Kafur's expedition, which then marched to Dēvagiri. But Rāmachandra advanced with presents to meet the conqueror in order to obtain peace. He was taken to Delhi and there he was given a royal reception. From that time he became a great favourite of Ala-ud-din[1].

The minor prinicipalities in the north of Mysore seem to have taken the advantage of the Yādava downfall to extend their territories. But Ballāḷa wanted to absorb them in his own empire. This was evidently a rash step since the Muhammadans who were expected to sweep down at any time, could have been successfully repulsed if Ballāḷa had made efforts to unite with the minor kings. From the same point of view the enmity between the Yādavas and the Hoysaḷas at this critical juncture could be considered as nothing less than political short-sightedness.

One of the chief barrons that came into conflict with Ballāḷa was the Sāntara chief of Hosaguṇḍa. During this time Bommarasa was on the throne ruling Sāntalige[2]. In A. D. 1293 he was attacked by the Yādavas[3]. A little later Ballāḷa took possession of the fort of Hosaguṇḍa and drove away Bommarasa. But the latter rallied forces and allying with Kōṭi Nāyaka, Karakala Kalatamma, and their feudatories, in A. D. 1299, he marched to Hosaguṇḍa with his five ministers and Nāyakas and laid seige to the fort saying "we want that Ballāḷa-dēva's elephant"[4]. Ballāḷa was apparently defeated. But immediately afterwards he reinforced his army and marching on Hosaguṇḍa captured Kōṭi Nāyaka and carried off his elephant[5]. From that time onwards Hosaguṇḍa became one of his possessions. In A. D. 1320 Dēvappa-daṇṇāyaka a minister of Ballāḷa made a grant to the goddess Kāṇchike there[1].

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[1] *Ferishta-Briggs*, I, pp. 363-369.

[2] *E. C.*, VIII, Sa, 97.

[3] *Ibid.*, Sa, 102.

[4] *Ibid.*, Sa, 96.

[5] *Ibid.*, Sa, 45.

During this time the decendants of the fallen lines of the Chalukya and Kadamba monarchs had settled down as the chiefs of petty principalities in Sāntalige and Baṇavasi, but they had retained the imperial titles of their ancestors. Ballāḷa wanted to subvert them and extend his dominions. In A. D. 1300, a year after overthrowing the Śāntaras of Hosaguṇḍa, he marched upon Gāngēya-Sahani, the great minister of Kadamba Chakravartti Kāva-dēvarasa, to demand tribute, and encamping at Sirisi he was plundering Kadabalalu. But Kāva-dēva united with all the "Kadamba Chakravarttis and Chalukya Chakravarttis" and put up a vigorous opposition[2]. In whose favour the battle was decided is not known.

Ballāḷa was still carrying his sword of terror into these principalities. In A. D. 1302 he bade the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Sodala-dēva, the "sun of the Adiyas", who was apparently a feudatory of his, to march against the "four-fold army of Abbara Nāyaka"[3]. In A. D. 1304 Ballāḷa led an expedition against the Ariyas in the north, and destroyed the fort of Nakkiguṇḍi[4]. Thanks to these expeditions Ballāḷa had extended his territory in the north, and even as late as A. D. 1328, after the invasion of the Musalmans his northern territory included Penukoṇḍa[5]. An inscription in Honnali Taluk informs us that the Yādava general Lakuma-dēva remitted taxes on a grant made to Mallikārjunaguru as custodian of the linga which Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa had formerly set up at Jalevale on the Tungabhadra in the name of his father Narasiṁha[6]. Mr. Rice supposes that it refers to Ballāḷa III and his father Narasiṁha III[1], which would mean that Ballāḷa III had territories on the bank of the Tungabhadrā.

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[1] *E. C.*, VIII, Sa, 135.
[2] *Ibid.*, Sa, 45.
[3] *Ibid.*, Sa, 27.
[4] *E. C.*, IX, Bn, 54. The Ariyas have not been identified.
[5] Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, I, p. 12.
[6] *E. C.*, VII, Hl, 17.

Ballāḷa was now at the zenith of his power. His boundary included almost all the territories owned by Ballāḷa II, and in addition the Tamil countries, which had formed Rāmanātha's kingdom. He assumed all the titles of his forefathers, such as "the king of the hill chiefs, champion over the Malapas, Yādava Nārāyaṇa, lord of the excellent city of Dvāravati, terrifier of the Lala, Chōḷa, Gouḷa and Gurjara kings, establisher of the Chōḷa king, establisher of the Pāṇḍya king, a spear to the head of the Magara king, sun of the south, emperor of the south, a tiger to kings, a gaṇḍa-bhēruṇḍa to kings"[2]. One inscription in the Māndya Taluk gives the names of "the mortals of this world" who were around him and were doing homage; among them figure Kalikala-Chōḷa, Bāṇa Mayūra, Kāḷidāsa and Kēsirāja-daṇṇāyaka[3]. In A. D. 1300 Ballāḷa established a new capital called Hosaviḍu[4], otherwise known as Pudu-paḍaivīḍu[5], which means the new camp or capital as opposed to Haḷebiḍu, the old capital. Mr. Rice surmises that it might possibly be Hosur in Goribidnur Taluk or perhaps the Virupakshapaṭṭaṇa-Hosadurga, (new fort) mentioned in other inscriptions, and bases his supposition on the similarity of the name, Hosadurga in Chitaldroog District[6]. The identification of this place will be discussed later.

When Ballāḷa III was thus in the height of his glory, a large military expedition of the Musulmans of Delhi marched to the south in A. D. 1310 and sacked Dōrasamudra in its onward march of conquests. Ala-ud-din was on the throne of Delhi. The situation offered by the extension of his empire meant the maintenance of a great army and enormous expenditure. After his success at Dēvagiri he had hoped that occasional expeditions to the south could bring him untold wealth. Besides it was much safer for him, to subjugate the Hindu kingdoms and exact tribute from them than to extend his empire further. In A. D. 1306, 1309, and 1310 he sent expeditions under the command of his able leader Malik Kafur who had acquired a large amount of wealth from Dēvagiri and Wārangal[1].

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[1] *E. C.*, VII, Introd., p. 38.
[2] *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 40.
[3] *E. C.*, III, Md, 83.
[4] *E. C.*, X, Gd, 49.
[5] *Ibid.*, Kl, 173.
[6] *Ibid.*, Introd., p. 32.

Another chief reason for the extensive Mussulman expedition to the south was the internal disunion in the Pāṇḍya empire. The Pāṇḍya king Māravarman Kulaśēkara I (Kales Dēwar) had nominated Vīra Pāṇḍya as his successor, though he was an illegitimate son, and left aside his legitimate son Sundara Pāṇḍya. In a fit of rage the latter killed his father and was quickly crowned in the city of Madura. That was in about the year A. D. 1310. A battle ensued between the two brothers in which Vīra Paṇḍya was wounded, but he nevertheless rallied forces and defeated Sundara Pāṇḍya. The latter fled from his country and took refuge under Ala-ud-din[2]. At the instance of Sundara Pāṇḍya, Ala-ud-din sent an expedition in A. D. 1310 to the south under the command of his minister Malik Kafur[3]. Ferishta also informs us that Khalji sent Malik Kafur and Khwaja Haji with a great army to reduce 'Dwāra Samudra' and 'Mabir' (or Ma'abar; *i. e.* the Coromandal Coast) in the Deccan, where he heard there were temples very rich in gold and jewels[4].

The Musalman chronicler describes the sack of Dōrasamudra as follows:—

"(Malik Kafur and Khwaja-Haji) having reached Dewgur (Dēvagiri) they found that Rama Dew (Yādava Rāmachandra) the old king was dead, and that the young prince Shunkul Dew (Śaṅkara-dēva), was not well affected to the Mahomedans. Leaving, therefore, some officers with part of the army at the town of Paitun, on the Godavary Mullik Kafoor continued his march to the south. When the Muhammadans crossed the Raja's boundry, they began to lay waste the country, and eventually reached the sea-coast, after three month's march from Delhi; during a great part of which time they were opposed by the Hindoos, whose countries they traversed. Among others they engaged Bilal Dew (Ballāḷadēva), Rājā of the Carnatic, and defeating him, took him prisoner and ravaged his territory. They found in the temples prodigious spoils, such as idols of gold, adorned with precious stones, and other rich effects, consecrated to Hindoo worship....

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[1] *I. A.*, LI, p. 207.

[2] Aiyer, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, I, pp. 172, 173.

[3] *Tarikh-i-Alai-Elliot*, III, p. 88.

[4] *Ferishta-Briggs*, I, 373.

"Mullik Kafoor, having effected the object of his expedition prepared to return to Delhi with spoils. The night before his intended march, a quarrel arose among some Brahmins, who had taken refuge in his camp. Some one who understood their language found the quarrel regarded hidden treasures, which being communicated to the superintendent of the market, the Brahmins were seized and carried to Mullik Kafoor. At first, they denied any knowledge of their treasures; but their lives being threatened, and each being questioned apart, and apprehensive that one would inform against the other, they at length disclosed the secret. Seven different places were pointed out near the camp, where treasures were concealed. These being dug up, and placed upon elephants, Mullik Kafoor returned to Delhi, where he arrived, without any remarkable occurrence, in the year 711 (A. D. 1311). He presented the King with 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, 96,000 maunds of gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls, and other precious gifts. Alla-ood-Deen, on seeing this treasure which exceeded that on the Badawurd of Purveez[1], was greatly rejoiced, and rewarded all his officers with largesses"[2].

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[1] Alluding to a vast treasure driven on the Eastern shore of the Black Sea.

[2] *Ferishta-Briggs*, I, p. 373.

After ransaking Dōrasamudra Malik Kafur destroyed Kannanūr and then marched south to Madura to help Sundara Pāṇḍya[1].

Another Musalman chronicler Amir Khusru informs us that the king of Dēvagiri, true to his alligiance to his Muhammadan over-lord, "forwarded with all his heart the preparations necessary for the equipment of the army sent by the court, so as to render it available for the extermination of rebels and the destruction of the Bīr and Dhūr Samūndar (Dōrasamudra)." On his way to the south Malik Kafur heard that 'Billāl Deo, the Rāi of Dhūr Samundar[1] had taken the advantage of civil wars in the Pāṇḍya kingdom for plunder, but that when he had heard that the Musalman army was marching south, he had hastily returned to his own country.

"On Sunday the 23rd of Ramzan, after holding a council of his chief officers, (Kafur) took a select body of cavalry with him, and pressed on againsf Billāl Deo, and on the 5th Shawwāl reached the fort of Dhūr Samund, after difficult march of twelve days over the hills and valleys and through thorny forests."

When Ballāḷa heard of the enemy's arrival he sent Kīsū Mal to ascertain the strength of the Musalman army. The messenger returned with such alarming accounts that next morning the King despatched Bālak Deo Nāik to the royal canopy to represent that "your slave Billāl Deo is ready to swear allegiance to the mighty emperor, like Laddar Deo and Rām Deo, and whatever the Sulaiman of the time may order, I am ready to obey. If you desire horses like demons, and elephants like *afrīts* and valuables like those of Deogīr, they are all present. If you wish to destroy the four walls of this fort, they are, as they stand, no obstacle to your advance. The fort is the fort of the king; take it". The commander replied that he was sent with the object of converting him to Muhammadanism, or of making him a *Zimmi*, and subject to pay tax, or of slaying him if neither of these terms were assented to. When the Rāi received this reply, he said he was ready to give up all he possessed, except his sacred thread.

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[1] *I. A.*, II, p. 208.

'On Friday, the 6th of Shawwāl, the Rāi sent Bālak Deo Nāik, Nārāin Deo, and Jīt Mal, with some other basīths, to bow before the royal canopy, and they were accompanied by six elephants. Next day some horses followed. On Sunday "Billāl Deo, the sun-worshipper, seeing the splendour of the sword of Islam over his head, bowing down his head, descended from his fortress, and came before the shadow of God; and trembling, and heartless, postrated himself on the earth, and rubbed the forehead of subjection on the ground." He then returned to fetch his treasures, and was engaged all night in taking them out, and next day brought them before the royal canopy, and made them over to the king's treasurer. Kafur remained twelve days in the city, "which is four month's distance from Delhi", and sent the captured elephants and horses to that capital[1].

One is led to believe from the foregoing account of Amir Khusru that Ballāḷa offered no resistence. But a Hoysaḷa inscription of the time states that "the Turks having marched against Dōrasamudra, Baicheya-Nāyaka, son of Naḍegore Mācheya-Nāyaka of Dudda, displaying a bravery that was admired by both armies, fell"[2]. A minister of Ballāḷa by the name of Sāluva Kattari styled himself the destroyer of the Turuka army[3].

From the above authorities we infer that the Hoysaḷas were utterly defeated, Dōrasamudra sacked the temples ravaged, and Ballāḷa imprisoned and reduced to vassalage. Ballāḷa was, perhaps, not taken to Delhi, since, from the inscriptions, we find him within his own territories[4]. Sir Richard Temple, however, states that Ballāḷa was taken to Delhi, but was allowed by Ala-ud-din to return to his own capital[1]. If so he must have been released in the same year. But Ballāḷa's son was carried off as a hostage[2], probably as a security against Ballāḷa's rebellion.

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[1] *Tarik-i-Alai*, III, Elliot, pp. 87-90.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 51, 52.

[3] *M. A. R.*, 1913-14, p. 44.

[4] *E. C.*, IX, Cp, 25, dated A. D. 1311.

The Musalmans believed that he was a powerful soldier and an able ruler. There is a story regarding him which would not be out of place here. It runs that "the Sultan's (Ala-ud-din) daughter fell in love with the Ballāḷa king from the reports of his valour, and threatened to destroy herself unless married to him. Eventually his sword was sent as his representative, with a due escort, and to that the princess was formally wedded, and then joined the king. They lived happily for ten years, after which he was induced, by the consideration that he was a Rajput and she of inferior caste, to put her away, which provoked, it is said, the second Muhammadan invasion of A. D. 1326"[3].

After his defeat in A. D. 1310 Ballāḷa seems to have transferred his seat of government to Belur,[4] he himself now retiring to Toṇḍanūr (Tonnur), nine miles north of Sēringapatam[5]. Some inscriptions mention his residence at this time as Aruṇsamudra[5]. But one inscription at Basavanahaḷḷi gives the full name of the place as Aruṇsamudra-Ballāḷapaṭṭaṇa, which Mr. Narasimhachar supposes to be identical with Tiruvannamalai in South Arcot District[6].

In A. D. 1312 Malik Kafur again marched to the south since the Yādava king Śankara had withheld the tribute to Delhi. Kafūr seized the Rāja and put him to death. He then laid waste the countries of Maharashtra and Canara and afterwards took up his residence at Dēvagiri, from where he realised the tribute from Talingana and Carnatic (Hoysaḷa), and despatched the whole to Delhi[7]. Tribute was raised from Ballāḷa III, but he showed no reluctance, since he was anxious to get rid of the Mussulman warriors within his territory. He showed friendly attitude towards Ala-ud-din, as a result of which his son who had been confined in Delhi was released and escorted back safely to the Hoysaḷa capital in A. D. 1313 after the return to Malik Kafur. There was apparently great rejoicing in the Hoysaḷa capital when the prince returned. The inscription which mentions the return, states that "after the Turuka war, on the occasion of his son Vīra Ballāḷa Rāyā from Delhi entering the city (on the date specified, 6th May A. D. 1313) he (the king) realised the taxes old and new, and those for destruction and injustice in Chikka Kudal and Hanasavāḍi belonging to the god Rāmanātha of Kudale"[1]. The inscription also hints at the final settlement of the treaty between the Musalmans and the Hoysaḷas. Ballāḷa acknowledged the supremacy of Ala-ud-din, for in the same year he styled himself the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara[2]. During this year a great meeting of all the feudatories and ministers of Ballāḷa was held at Huliyēra[3]. The meeting was of the utmost importance, since the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Voḍeya-Viñjha-dēva-Rāṇe who was absent, had to give a token to the king through the intercession of other nobles.

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[1] *I. A.*, LI, p. 207.
[2] *E. C.*, VII, Sh, 68.
[3] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg, Gazetteer*, I, p. 386.
[4] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, Introd., p. 79.
[5] *E. C.*, IX, Cp, 73; XII, Ck, 4; IV, Gu, 69.
[6] *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 55.
[7] *Ferishta-Briggs*, I, p. 379.

In the meantime Delhi was in troubles. Malik Kafur who now became very powerful, made treacherous schemes to overthrow the Khalji monarchy. He obtained sanction to imprison the King's wife and children, and to assassinate his favourites. At this time also the thirst for revenge and a desire to be free from Muhammadan tyrany began to burst forth, and were first apparent in Gujerat, which rose into insurrection. The Rajputs of Chittoor threw the Muhammadan officers over the walls and asserted their independence while Harapāla-dēva, the son-in-law of Rāmachandra who had formed some sort of a principality over the ruins of the Yādava territory stirred up the Deccan to arms, and expelled many of the Muhammadan garrisons which had been established there[1]. Wārangal ceased to send tribute, the Kēralas of Travancore and the Pāṇḍyas of Madura struggled for supremacy without paying any regard to the garrison which Malik Kafur may have left behind him in Madura[2].

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[1] *E. C.*, VII, Sh, 68.

[2] *E. C.*, XI, Hr, 87.

[3] *Ibid.*

It was the time for Ballāḷa also to struggle out of the Musalman overlordship and to regain his lost powers. The first step he took was to rebuild Dōrasamudra which had been partly distroyed by Malik Kafur. It was in A. D. 1316 that "having built a residence (ನೆಲೆವೀಡಂಕಟ್ಟಿ) in Dōrasamudra (he) was ruling the kingdom in peace and happiness"[3]. He was of course residing there previous to it, for example in A. D. 1313[4], but his palace was rebuilt only in A. D. 1316. The Hoysaḷa kingdom, and Southern India in general, showed signs of prosperity. Temples were renovated and fresh grants made for their maintenance. Literature too revived. The year A. D. 1300 produced a number of poets[5], thus showing that the people recovered from the shock of war and resumed their normal avocations of life.

In the period following the Musalman invasion under Malik Kafur, when the power of the Hoysaḷas had become weak, local chiefs seem to have taken the opportunity to shake off the central authority[6]. In A. D. 1312 the Ganga chief ruling in the Nilagiris beseiged a local fort[7]. In A. D. 1318 Ballāḷa carried a successful expedition from Kannanūr and immediately afterwards he was residing at Aruṇasamudra[8]. Kannanūr had been occupied by Malik Kafur a few years previously, and after the Muhammadan evacuation, it is to be expected, the country was in a state of anarchy. It was evidently to put down these troubles that Ballāḷa marched there. In A. D. 1320 Ballāḷa marched against a rebel chief named Kapila-dēva and defeating him at Balaha, he marched on Dorawāḍi. But in the meantime Kapila-dēva rallied forces and came to attack Ballāḷa at Dorawāḍi. But the king of the Sētu kingdom (south of the Sagar Taluk) sent an army under his commander Kuruka Nāyaka to help Ballāḷa. A sanguinary battle, ensued in which Ballāḷa won a victory; but Kuruka Nāyaka was killed[1]. Next there was a rising of the chiefs of Yelumāvu against their suzerain Ballāḷa, but the Mahāsāmanthādhipati Hiriya Bommaya Nāyaka of Hoḷakallu, marched against them and subdued the rebellion. He was, however killed in battle[2]. In A. D. 1322 Ballāḷa encamped at Harihārapura where "he had his repast"[3]. In A. D. 1325 he was back again to Dōrasamudra, but in the meantime the feudatory Mahāsāmanthādhipati Chōḷa-Kukula-nāḍaḷva had risen in rebellion. The king sent his ministers Singeya daṇṇāyaka and Bēcheya daṇṇāyaka to subdue him, but Bēcheya was killed in battle[4].

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[1] *Ferishta-Briggs*, I, p. 381.

[2] *I. A.*, LI, p. 208.

[3] *E. C.*, III, Md, 100.

[4] *E. C.*, XI, Hr, 87.

[5] Narasimhachar, *Kannada Kavi-Charite*, I, p. 400.

[6] *M. E. R.*, 1918, p. 172.

[7] *E. C.*, III, Nj, 71.

[8] *E. C.*, XII, Ck, 4.

While Ballāḷa was thus striving to centralise the government and to establish order in southern India, the Muhammadans were making preparations for another invasion.

After the death of Ala-ud-din, his third son Mubarak ascended the throne. Malik Kafur, had been assassinated in his own chambers by a few soldiers and all his machinations had proved fruitless. The new king was more liberal towards the subjects, and during his time the kingdom showed signs of prosperity. In A. D. 1318 he marched to Dēvagiri and killed Harapāla-dēva. From there he sent his commander Malik Khusru to Maabar where he stayed for one full year plundering the native chieftains. It is believed that during this time the Mussalmans conquered Coorg from the Hoysalas[1]. Khusru became ambitious, and after assassinating the King in A. D. 1321, he ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Nasir-ud-din. But the usuper's glory lasted only for five months, at the end of which Ghazi Beg Tughlak, the governor of Lahore, entered Delhi and dethroned him. Tughlak was raised to the throne after which he assumed the title Ghias-ud-din Tughlak. The new King appointed his son-in-law, Malik Burhan-ud-din as the governor of Dēvagiri; but during the revolution in Delhi, the Hindu kings of the south had relapsed into disaffection. In A. D. 1321 the King sent his son Aluf-Khan against Ladder Dew of Wārangal, who was obliged to retreat into the city of Wārangal. The fort was beseiged, but with no success and the Muhammadan army had to return to Delhi. The next year Aluf Khan marched again to the south, took the town of Bedūr belonging to the Raja of Wārangal on the frontiers of Telingana, and then sacked the city of Wārangal having masacred several Hindus. He then appointed a governor at Telingana and caused Wārangal to be called Sultānapūr[2].

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[1] *E. C.*, VIII, Nr, 19.
[2] *M. E. R.*, 1918, p. 172.
[3] *E. C.*, IV, Kp, 44.
[4] *E. C.*, XIII, Tp, 24.

Ghiasuddin died in A. D. 1325 and was succeeded by Aluf Khan who went by the name of Muhammad Tughlak.

It was in A. D. 1327 that this King after making a treaty with the Mogul invaders in the north and paying them large sums of money and jewels, directed his attention to the south. Ferishta does not fully describe Muhammad's expedition to the southern kingdoms but what he writes is convincing—"he so completely subjected the distant provinces of Dwar-Sumodara, Maabir, Kumpila, Wurungole, Luknowty, Chutgaun, and Soonargām; that they were as effectually incorporated with the empire, as the villages in the vicinity of Delhi. He also subduded the whole of the Carnatic, both in length and breadth, even to the Shore of Ooman (Indian Ocean, on the West of South India)"[3].

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[1] *Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer*, III, p. 98.

[2] Ferishta-Briggs, I, pp. 395-405.

[3] Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 413.

After the invasion of Tughlak's army into Dōrasamudra the Hoysaḷa empire fell into disintegration. According to Mr. Rice the city of Dōrasamudra itself was completely demolished, and Ballāḷa retired to Tonnūr which continued to be the seat of an enfeebled power for about fifty years[1]. If "demolition" signifies the impossibility of habitation, then Mr. Rice has erred. In A. D. 1335 Ballāḷa was residing at Dōrasamudra"[2]; and again in A. D. 1338 "he was in his own city Dōrasamudra"[3]. In about the same time the Brahmans of the Hiriya Narasiṁhapura agrahāra, which is Karuviḍi (and therefore not in Dōrasamudra) made an agreement regarding the division of an estate, and set up a stone in the Hoysalēśvara temple[4]; evidently in Dōrasamudra it being the temple of royalty.

The transfer of the Hoysaḷa capital is not due to the destruction of Dōrasamudra, but to the political unimportance of its site. Ballāḷa established residences at strategic points all over South India for himself and for his feudatories and generals. Two of the chief capitals were Uṇṇāmale and Virūpākshapura. The latter place was called by various names — Vīra-Vijaya-Virūpākshapura, Virūpākshapaṭṭana, Virūpākshapada, Hosaviḍu, Hosadurga, Hosanāḍ, Hosabeṭṭa, Virūpāksha-Hosadurga, and Pudu-padaivīḍu (in Tamil). As mentioned before he made this city his residence in A. D. 1300[5]. Later he was residing there in A. D. 1330, 1331, 1333, 1339, 1340 and 1342[6]. Uṇṇāmale, Aṇṇāmale, Uraṇṇāmale-paṭṭana, or Tiruvaṇāmalai (Trincomalee in South Arcot) was probably the same Arunasamudra, or Aruṇāsamudra-Ballāḷa-paṭṭana, as Mr. Narasiṁhachar suggests[7]. Ballāḷa was residing there in A. D. 1318, 1328, 1341, 1342 and 1343[8].

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[1] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, Introd., p. 79; *Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer*, II, p. 298.

[2] *M. A. R.*, 1914-15, p. 57.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 183.

[4] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 83.

[5] *Infra.*, p. 229.

[6] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 66; *E. C.*, IX, Nl, 9; *E. C.*, XII, Gb, 30; Ht, 43, Dv, 21.

[7] *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 55.

[8] *E. C.*, IX, Dv, 1, 60, 54, Bn, 41, Ht, 124, *E. C.*, XII, Si, 10, *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 46.

Before describing the activities of Ballāḷa, mention should be made of the establishment of a Muhammadan kingdom in the south. We have mentioned the probability of Malik Kafur having stationed a garrison there in A. D. 1311. In A. D. 1318 Malik Khusru had marched into South India and stayed there for one year. Later in A. D. 1327 Muhammad Tughlak subdued the whole of the Carnatic as far as the sea of Oman. It is believed that the Muhammadan general who led this expedition into the south, knowing the difficulties of the Sultan in the north, broke allegiance with the Sovereign and declared himself the independent ruler of Ma'abar. This rebellion of the Chief of Madura, who assumed the name of Jalal-ud-din Hasan Shah, took place in about A. D. 1335. He ruled for five years and was succeeded by one of his Amirs, Alai-ud-din, who in turn was succeeded by his nephew Qutb-ud-din. He was killed, and was succeeded by Gias-ud-din, another Amir of Jalal-ud-din[1].

Thus, while the governors of Muhammad Tughlak established themselves in Dēvagiri and Wārangal in the north, the Sultans of Madura formed a strong kingdom in the south. Hemmed in between these two formidable enemies Ballāḷa had to exert all his powers to stabilise the Hindu government, and to drive the Mussalmans from the country. It is true that after Tughlak's invasion in Dōrasamudra, Ballāḷa had ceased to be an emperor. This situation though apparently unfortunate brought Ballāḷa to the realisation of the great need of establishing unity and peace among the Hindu kings. He therefore assumed the powers of a great international leader, travelling from place to place, to mobilize the forces and to enlist the sympathy and assistance of the numerous principalities scattered over the whole of South India.

The most important step taken by Ballāḷa in this direction was to give greater rights and sometimes even partial independence to his ministers, generals and feudatories, as long as they did not abuse their powers. In other words

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[1] Cf. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, I, p. 101.

Ballāḷa relaxed his administrative control over his empire in order that he may be able assume the military leadership of almost all the Hindu kingdoms of the south which had joined together into a temporary confederacy.

In A. D. 1331 Ballāḷa was at Virūpāksha-Hosadurga, when it is said that he and Ponnaṇṇa's son Rāmeya daṇṇāyaka were ruling the kingdom in peace[1]. It is evident that the King had given authority to Rāmeya to carry on the administration independently. But the man that weilded the greatest power in the Hoysaḷa kingdom, was perhaps Ballappa daṇṇāyaka, who is described as the younger brother of Dāti-Sīnga daṇṇāyaka the son of the Hoysala King Vīra-Ballāḷa-dēva[2]. Several of his inscriptions found in the Malur Taluk do not mention the supremacy of Ballāḷa even as early as A. D. 1328[3]. This does not indicate his revolt against the King but perhaps a certain measure of administrative autonomy which the King had conceded. That he did not claim independence may be seen from an inscription of his dated in A. D. 1342 which mentions the supremacy of Ballāḷa III[4]. Ballappa daṇṇāyaka had several ministers under him, among whom there were Sikka Viṭṭappa Udayar[5], Nāḍappar[6], Taḷuvachchitta Viṭṭappanavar[7] Kaḷāvati Chavaḍiyakka[8] (who appears to be a woman); Kambar, Śūriya Dēvar, Śrīranga-Perumāḷ and Malaiyaṇṇan, were his revenue officers[9].

Ballappa daṇṇāyaka who is referred to in several epigraphs as the son of Ballāḷa III was in reality his nephew. Ballappa's father was Sōmaya daṇṇāyaka who had been in charge of Bemmatura-durga (Chitaldroog)[1]. His sons were Singeya daṇṇāyaka and Ballappa daṇṇāyaka. The latter won the highest distinctions in the empire. He married a daughter of Harihara I of the Vijayanagar dynasty[2] and by the year A. D. 1330, he had a son named Tanan[3]. Later on in A. D. 1361 we find Ballappa acknowledging the supremacy of Harihara[4]. King Ballāḷa had another close relative called Kāvēri Vallabha Māra-dēva[5].

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[1] *E. C.*, XII, Ch, 30.
[2] *E. C.*, X, Mr, 10, 12.
[3] *E. C.*, X, Introd., List of Inscriptions, pp. 41-51.
[4] *E. C.*, IX, Ht, 49.
[5] *M. A. R.*, 1919, p. 32.
[6] *E. C.*, X, Mr, 82.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*, Kl, 32.
[9] *Ibid.*, Bp, 28.

Mādhava daṇṇāyaka, son of Perumale daṇṇāyaka, was another great feudatory of Ballāḷa. He assumed the titles of Immaḍi-Rāvuṭṭarāya Sri Vīra Mādhava daṇṇāyaka and was ruling the Padinālku-nāḍ (or fourteen nads in Gundulpet Taluk) and was residing at Terakanambi[6]. He probably died in A. D. 1321 since after that date his son Kēteya daṇṇāyaka was ruling in his place[7]. In many of the inscriptions belonging to these chiefs the authority of Ballāḷa is not acknowledged. Bramana was the favourite minister of Kēteya, and Narannadēvaṇṇa an accountant in his palace[8]. The Padinālkunāḍ continued to be an important principality till the end of the 16th century[9].

Ballāḷa III had a son-in-law by the name of Aḷiya Mācheya daṇṇāyaka. He was the Mahāpradhāna and the governor of Penugoṇḍa[10].

Kukkala-nāḍ was ruled by the Mahā-sāmantādhipati Mayileya Nāyaka; who by A. D. 1339 was succeeded by his son Kōḍiya Nāyaka[11]. But after the death of Ballāḷa he became the feudatory of the Vijayanagara kings[1].

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1911-12, p. 45.
[2] *E. C.*, VI, Sg, 1.
[3] *E. C.*, X, Mr, 18.
[4] *E. C.*, IX, Bn, 101.
[5] *Ibid.*, Kn, 70, 103.
[6] *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 41.
[7] *E. C.*, IV, Gu, 69.
[8] *E. C.*, IV, Gu, 45, 69.
[9] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 153.
[10] *M. E. R.*, 1918, p. 171; *E. C.*, X, Gd, 16.
[11] *E. C.*, IX, Bn, 110, Nl, 9.

Thus it will be seen that Ballāḷa had a large number of feudatories and generals (Cf. foot note) to cope with the government of the empire which was fast breaking into dismemberment. Ballāḷa was glad to forfeit the revenues of his empire, as long as the feudatories were faithful to him in the realisation of his great mission. An inscription in Dod-Ballapur Taluk dated in A. D. 1328 informs us that he was ruling only "the kingdom of the Puṇṇāḍ Seventy nāḍ in peace and wisdom"[1].

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[1] *E. C.*, IX, Bn, 132. Among other important feudatories of Ballala we find great minister Kamaya, son of Ponanna (*E. C.*, IX, Dv, 1); Hoya dannayaka (*E. C.*, IX, Dv, 60); Maha-samantadhipati Chikka Kalaya Nayaka (*E. C.*, IX, Bn, 41); Maha-samantadhipati Honnamaraya Nayaka (*E. C.*, IX, Bn, 21); Somaya Nayaka's son Chikka Ankeya (*E. C.*, IX, Dv, 40); Great minister Meya dannayaka (*E. C.*, D. B., 14); Maha-samantadhipati Choleya Nayaka (*E. C.*, IX, Bn, 24); Allappa dannayaka ruling Elahakanad (*E. C.*, IX, Bn, 134); Maha-samantadhipati Chenneya Nayaka (*E. C.*, IX, Bn, 111); Marachi Devarasa (*E. C.*, IX, Cp, 168); Daya dandanatha (*E. C.*, IX, Cp, 185); Great minister Jatreya dannayaka (*E. C.*, IX, Cp, 76); House Minister Yedavanka Kamalarasa (*E. C.*, IX, Cp, 71); Maha-mandalesvara Vira-Mallapodeyar's son Timmanna (*E. C.*, IX, Cp, 55); Mahapasayita Mahamanda-deva (*E. C.*, IX, Cp, 25); Vaichchaya Nayakakkar and Singaya Nayakkar, rulers of Suguni (*E. C.*, IX, An, 80); Maha-mandalesvara Purva-Narayana (*E. C.*, IX, An, 94); Maha-nayakacharya Vira-maji Hiriya Pemmaya Nayaka (*E. C.*, IX, Dv, 3); Devappa dannayaka (*E. C.*, IX, Ma, 58); Aluva dannayaka's son Gangeya dannayaka (*E. C.*, IX, Ma, 59); Maha-samantadhipati Vaisandagali Devan (*E. C.*, IX, Ht, 59); Vittarasa Dannayaka (*E. C.*, IX, Ht, 112); Kattari Saluva Irasaya Nayaka (*M. A. R.*, 1913-14, p. 44); Yerumanjaya dannayaka (Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, I, p. 524); Kampaya dannayaka (*M. E. R.*, 1920, p. 119); Minister Heggade Deva (*E. C.*, IV, Hg, 98); Kariya Ramai-Nayaka (*E. C.*, X, Kl, 128); Bammarasar son of Maha-mandalesvara Murari-deva (*E. C.*, X, Kl, 173); Toya Singeya dannayaka (*E. C.*, XII, Tp, 83); Senabova Ravanna (*E. C.*, XII, Ck, 26); Vissiya dannayaka, and under him Maha-samantadhipati Bommeya Nayaka (*E. C.*, XI, Si, 10); Minister Kadiyappa (*E. C.*, VI, Kp, 12); Bimbeya dannayaka (*E. C.*, VI, Sh, 69); Master of Robes Ramanna (*E. C.*, V, Ak, 113); Great minister Khandeya-raya (*E. C.*, V, Bl, 24); Bittarasa dannayaka (*M. A. R.*, 1913-14, p. 45); Bhimeya dannayaka (*E. C.*, III, Nj. 103); Maha-mandalesvara Koyal-arasa (*E. C.*, III, Ml, 114); Senior house minister Sankeya Sahani (*E. C.*, VII, Hl, 117).

Ballāḷa was engaged in active war on the west coast. We have seen that in A. D. 1292 the representatives of Samudra Pāṇḍya had invaded the territory of the Kalaśa-Kārkaḷa King Vīra Pāṇḍya, the feudatory of Ballāḷa[2]. In A. D. 1322 Ballāḷa lent the services of his nephew Dāti-Singeya daṇṇāyaka to Vīra Pāṇḍya, who fought against Sundara Pāṇḍya, but was killed in battle[3]. Sundara Pāṇḍya evidently had allied with the Tuḷuvas below the Ghats, since Singeya is said to have "destroyed the Tuḷuvas" and died[4]. Just at that time Ballāḷa had sent Baicheya daṇṇāyaka's brother-in-law Saṅkeya Sāhani to invade the territory of Basava-dēva of Chandavar (North Kanara) below the Ghats[5]. In A. D. 1336 Baicheya Vaichappa daṇṇāyaka completely overthrew the Āḷupas of Barkur (South Kanara). The inscription which gives this information was discovered in Barkur itself, the Capital of the Āḷupas[6]. The Āḷupas, who had been the feudatories of the Hoysaḷas ousted the supremacy of Ballāḷa III, after the Muhammadan invasion. Though they were defeated in A. D. 1336, there was the danger of their regaining independence. In A. D. 1338 Ballāḷa himself came down to Barkur and stationed a standing army under the command of Aṅkeya Nāyaka[7].

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[1] *E. C.*, IX, D. B., 38.

[2] *Supra.*, p. 223.

[3] *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 41.

[4] *E. C.*, VII, Hl, 117.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Rangacharya, *Madras Inscriptions*, II, p. 861.

[7] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 183. The inscription is dated in Saka 1161, Bahudhanya. But Saka 1161 corresponds to Vikarin, while Saka 1141 corresponds to Bahudhanya. Mr. Venkatasubbiah has therefore taken the cyclic year to be correct and put the date Saka 1141 in the reign of Ballala II. Mr. Rice has however taken Saka 1261, also taking the cyclic year to be correct. After two cycles from Saka 1141 Bahudhanya falls on Saka 1261. Mr. Rice seems to be correct; Ankeya dannayaka was the general of Ballala III, as we gather from other inscriptions, and not of Ballala II.

During this period, it seems, Ballāḷa had apportioned this territory to his son Kulaśekhara and his queen Paṭṭadapiriyarsi Chikkāyi-Tāyi who were ruling together in A. D. 1334[1]. Evidently the Āḷupa governorship had continued under the suzerainty of Kulaśekara, and Ballāḷa was obliged to come to their aid and station an army at Barkur in A. D. 1338.

Troubles arose in the east. In A. D. 1334 Ballāḷa marched to Kānchipura and was residing there[2]. In an inscription of the same date he is described as a blinding mirror to Kānchi, and that by his energy he prevented the entry of Adiyama of the Kāḍava (Pallava family)[3]. Adiyama was the Chōḷa general who had opposed the Hoysalas during the capture of Talakāḍ in A. D. 1117. The Adiyama mentioned in the inscription may have been a descendent of his who tried to recapture Talakāḍ[4]. The province in the vicinity of Talakāḍ was entangled in arbitration between some of the feudatories and officers of Ballāḷa[5]. But it was under his control in A. D. 1338[6], and probably till the time of his death. He also managed to hold sway over a portion of the Kongu-Maṇḍalam, as can be inferred from the discovery of his inscriptions in the Ḍharampuram Taluk in the Coimbature District dated in Śaka 1256 and 1258[7]. His authority in this province, and his strong garrison in his new residence of Uṇṇāmale were of the utmost importance, for his war with the Sultans of Madura, as will be seen later.

While the southern territories were thus being safeguarded, the northern provinces which were in the danger zone of Muhammadan vandalism had to be protected. The step taken by Ballāḷa towards this problem reveales his master-mind; he established a strong principality which later on came to be known as the Vijayanagara Empire. The origin of this empire is a much discussed and a favourite subject of South Indian Historians, but risking the repetition of what others have said mention has to be made here about Vijayanagara.

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[1] *M. E. R.*, 1932, p. 61.

[2] *M. E. R.*, 1920, p. 119.

[3] *E. C.*, III, Ml, 104.

[4] *Ibid.*, Introd., p. 20.

[5] *M. A. R.*, 1920, pp. 34, 35.

[6] *E. C.*, III, Ml, 109.

[7] *M. E. R.*, 1920, p. 119.

Vijayanagara is intimately connected with the last struggle of the Hoysaḷas against the Muhammadans. The political relation between Ballāḷa III and Vijayanagara may be traced from a meeting of the Hindu princes which, Ferishta informs us, was convened to arrange for the fortification of the northern territory.

"....Krishna Naig, the son of Ludder Dew who lived near Warungole, went privately to Bilal Dew, Raja of Carnatic, and told him that he had heard the Muhammadans, who were now very numerous in the Deccan, had formed the design of extirpating all the Hindoos, that it was therefore advisable to combine against them. Bilal Dew, convened a meeting of his kinsmen, and resolved, first to secure the forts of his own country, and then to remove his seat of government among the mountains. Krishna Naig promised, on his part also, that when their plans were ripe for execution, to raise all the Hindus of Wurungole and Tulingana, and put himself at their head.

"Bilal Dew accordingly, built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominions, and called it after his son Beeja, to which the word nuggur, or city, was added, so that it is now known by the name of Beejanuggur. He then raised an army, and put part of it under the command of Krishna Naig, who reduced Wurungole, and compelled Immad-ool-Mulg, the governor, to retreat to Dowlutabad. Bilal Dew and Krishna Naig, united to their forces the troops of the Rajas of Maabir and Dwarsamoodra, who were formerly tributaries to the government of Carnatic. The confederate Hindoos, seized the country occupied by the Muhammadans, in the Deccan, and expelled them, so that within a few months, Mahomed Tughlak had no possessions in that quarter except Dowlutabad"[1].

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[1] Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 427.

The meeting of the princes mentioned by Ferishta was probably held in about A. D. 1328 after the invasion of Tughlak into Dōrasamudra[1]. It had to be convened far away "among the mountains", at Uṇṇāmale, since from closer quarters, the plot would come to the knowledge of the enemy. The meeting of the princes is hinted at in an inscription dated in A. D. 1328: "Ballāḷa-dēva, together with the champion at his side, the strong-armed Bhīma-Rāya, the prince Kaṭhōra-Hara, the prince Siṁha Raghunātha, the prince Kāḷamēgha, the prince Vīra Śānta, Baicheya-daṇṇāyaka-chamūpa, who was the punisher of the famous Mādhava Rāya of Udevāra, the great minister Ballapa daṇṇāyaka and the great minister Siṅgeya daṇṇāyaka, were in the residence of the city of Uṇṇāmale, ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom"[2].

As a result of the meeting, Ferishta says, a new fort was raised on the northern frontiers of Ballāḷa's dominions called by the name of Beejanuggur (Vijayanagara) after his son Beeja. Ballāḷa had a son by the name of Vīra Virūpāksha Ballāḷadēva[3]. One inscription in the Yedatore Taluk informs us that Ballāḷa had a son named Hampe-Voḍeyar[4]. Hampe is still the name of the site of Vijayanagara. Hampe-Voḍeyar may be the same as Vīra-Virūpāksha Ballāḷa. We have seen that Ballāḷa was residing at a new residence called Virūpākshapaṭṭana or Virūpāksha-Hosadurga; evidently a derivation of his son's name. As mentioned previously Rice has identified this latter place with Hosadurga in Chitaldroog District. Fr. Heras has, however, identified it with the city of Vijayanagara, the capital of the Vijayanagara Empire[5]. Ferishta probably heard that the city was named after Ballāḷa's son and hence deduced his name "Beeja" from the then current name of the city. An inscription of A. D. 1380 gives the name of Virūpāksha to the city of Vijayanagara[1]. The temple of Virūpāksha in that city indicates the original name. We have seen that Virūpāksha was also known as Hosadurga. Vijaya was not a new name to the Hoysalas. Ballāḷa II is said to have made a fort called Vijayagiri[2] and once he was residing at Vijayapura or Haḷḷavur[3]. In A. D. 1354 Bukka I is said to have been residing at Hosapaṭṭana[4]. All this epigraphical evidence may easily lead one to identify Virūpāksha or Hosadurga with Vijayanagara. An inscription dated A. D. 1378 gives the description of the new town Hosapaṭṭana, which is the same as that of Vijayanagara. "There, with the Tuṅgabhadrā as his foot-stool, and Hēmakūṭa as his throne, he (Bukka) was seated like Virūpāksha for the protection of the people of the earth"[5]. Vijayanagara is on the Tuṅgabhadrā, Hēmakūṭa a hill in it, and Virūpāksha its god.

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[1] Ferishta puts down the date A. D. 1344, but by this time Ballala was dead.

[2] *E. C.*, XI, Cd, 4.

[3] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 105.

[4] *E. C.*, IV, Yd, 29.

[5] Cf. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, p. 56.

The Vijayanagara kings make their first appearance as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras from the year A. D. 1336[6]. We have reason to believe that they were the feudatories of Ballāḷa. As stated before Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka, the nephew of Ballāḷa was the son-in-law of Harihara I. It is therefore probable that Ballāḷa brought about this connection and instituted the Vijayanagara chiefs in the fort of Vijayanagara, for the defence of the northern frontiers. It is believed that these chiefs were the fugitives from Warangal[7]; and that Harihara I was originally a chieftain ruling Navakhaṇḍa, and that the Muni Vidyāraṇya gave him counsel and then crowned him[8]. Whatever may be the theories of their origin, the statement made by some that the early Vijayanagara chiefs were the allies of Ala-ud-din in subduing Ballāḷa seems groundless in the light of the epigraphical records now discovered.

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 57.
[2] *E. C.*, XI, Mk, 12.
[3] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 244.
[4] *M. A. R.*, 1925, p. 74.
[5] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 256.
[6] *E. C.*, X, Bg, 70 etc.
[7] *J. R. A. S.*, 1834, p. 391.
[8] *E. I.*, XV, p. 10.

Ballāḷa, having given over the protection of his northern territories into the hands of Harihara and his brother, he directed his attention to the south. During this period Koorshasip, the nephew of Tughlak was a governor in the Deccan. In A. D. 1338 he asserted independence, but he was soon defeated by the King's forces, and hence he fled to the court of Ballāḷa. The latter, fearing the wrath of Tughlak sent the fugitive to Kwaja Jehan, the general of Tughlak, and at the same time acknowledged the supremacy of the throne of Delhi[1].

The victory over the Muhammadans in the year A. D. 1346 mentioned by Ferishta may be ascribed to Harihara, the feudatory of Ballāḷa. If Ballāḷa had taken part in the battle, such a glorious victory would have surely found place in the list of his titles. On the contrary he had acknowledged the supremacy of Tughlak as mentioned above.

We have seen that Ballāḷa had brought into subjection the territories on the east and the south. The chief object of his activities in the south was to destroy Madura, occupied by the Muhammadans. Before invading the Mussalman territories Ballāḷa carried his arms to the neighbouring territories, probably with a mutual understanding with local chieftains to strengthen his forces. In the year A. D. 1341 he went as far south as Sētu and erected a pillar of victory there[2].

Ballāḷa made great preparations for the attack of Madura, and marched in the year A. D. 1342. The Mussalman chronicler, Ibn Batuta, who was a guest at the court of the Sultan of Madura, a little while after the battle, gives a graphic description[3]. The then reigning Sultan was Ghias-ud-din. Ballāḷa marched with an army of 100,000 men including 20,000 Mussalmans, with the intention of conquering the Coromandal Coast, while the army of the Mussalmans was only 6,000 strong. The battle took place near Kabban (identified by

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[1] Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 419.

[2] *E. C.*, X, Mr., 82.

[3] Defremery-Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, pp. 195-198.

Mr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar as Kaṇṇānūr-Koppam near Śrīrangam)[1], which was one of the greatest and best fortified places of the Mussalmans. The battle ended in a victory for Ballāḷa, and the Mussalmans retired to Madura. Ballāḷa then besieged the fort of Kabban for ten months. He at last proposed to the besieged to give up the town, after which they could retreat without molestation. But they wrote to the Sultan for consent who on the next Friday made a stirring appeal to his subjects. The people wept and swore that they would die for the King, and on the morrow they formed a strong army of 6,000 cavalry and marched, at the head of which was the Sultan himself. Ballāḷa's soldiers who were not prepared for the attack, had sent their horses to graze. When they saw that the advancing army was not a band of decoits, as they had originally surmised, but the forces of Ghias-ud-din, they fled in confusion. Ballāḷa tried to jump on his horse though he was eighty years old; he was, however, captured, and when he was about to be killed, some one recognised him as King Ballāḷa, and hence he was sent to the Sultan. He was treated with apparent kindness till the Muhammadans had extracted all his riches. But soon after he was killed. His dead body was treated in cruel manner. Ibn Batuta says: "They slew him and skinned him. His skin was stuffed with straw and hung from the top of the walls of Madura, where I have seen it in the same position." He died on the 8th of September A. D. 1342 as an inscription in the Kaḍūr Taluk informs us[2].

Such was the end of the great monarch; and with him ended his great empire. He had however anointed his son Vīra-Virūpāksha-Ballāḷa-dēva, known in history as Ballāḷa IV to the throne in A. D. 1340[3] and the ceremony probably took place at Virūpāksha-pura or Vijayanagara. He "obtained the crown" on the 28th of June 1343[4], about a year after the death of his father. His last inscription is dated A. D. 1346[1]. But his rule was only a nominal one, and his power could not have been much more than that of an ordinary chieftain.

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[1] S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 167 n.

[2] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 75.

[3] *E. C.*, IX, Bn, 120.

[4] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 105.

The military leadership of the Hindu confederacy which Ballāḷa III had so ably weilded devolved apparently on the Vijayanagara kings after his death. The Vijayanagara principality was at this time the most influential, besides it was situated at a strategic point, and therefore, the Vijayanagara kings were likely to accomplish the great mission of Ballāḷa III, *viz.*, that of warding off the Mussalman menace and rebuilding a Hindu empire in South India. The Vijayanagara kings were rapidly rising and after A. D. 1346 they gradually absorbed the whole of the Hoysaḷa Empire as a matter of course, without the least sign of opposition. An inscription dated A. D. 1346, belonging to Ballāḷa IV is found in the Begūr Hobḷi, Bangalore Taluk, and the very next year an inscription belonging to Harihara I is found in the same Hobḷi[2]. It is therefore evident that the Vijayanagara kings occupied the Hoysaḷa empire within a very short period. Many of the early Vijayanagara inscriptions describe Harihara and Bukka as ruling "the Hoysaḷa kingdom"[3].

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[1] *E. C.*, IX, Bn, 120.

[2] *Ibid.*, Bn, 120, 97.

[3] Cf. *E. I.*, VI, p. 327.

CHAPTER XVI

Political and Social Life

Inscriptions throw much light on the internal history of the Hoysaḷa period, and there is ample material to bring out a separate work on any one of the various aspects of Hoysaḷa life. Religion, architecture, literature, court life, warfare, economics, women, morals and the general administration of the country are the different important subjects which combine to give a vivid picture of the life of the Hoysaḷa people who contributed not a little to the civilisation and the culture of their country.

The administration of the Hoysaḷa country was, of course, not different from that of other kingdoms of southern India. Briefly it means that the king was helped by a cabinet of five ministers or the pañcha-pradhāna with a prime minister or Sarvādhikāri[1] at the head. We have seen that as a special case the two brothers Mariyāne and Bhārata were holding the important post of Sarvādhikāri together at the time of Vishṇuvardhana. The other generals or daṇṇāyakas were acting as ministers and judges, and they were also the governors of different provinces and they controlled both military and civil affairs. Thus Punisamaya undertook the campaign to the Nilagiris, Bokkaṇa to the Chaṅgāḷva and Tuḷu countries and Gaṅga Rājā to Gaṅgavāḍi. These governors were usually sent by the king to settle disputes or to give grants to temples on behalf of the royal family[1]. They were handsomely rewarded by the king for their achievements in war, with landed properties, chieftainships, badges of honour (sometimes even a golden headpiece to a deserving elephant) and titles. The families of fallen warriors were granted an *umbaḷi*, or a rent free estate by means of which they could make their living. Under their control were the sāmantas or provincial satraps. The mahāsāmantas occupied a higher position than the sāmantas and were as important as the daṇṇāyakas and usually they came from noble families. Next to them came the heggaḍes, who administered smaller territories and under them were the gauṇḍas who were the responsible heads of the agricultural classes in the villages, while the towns were administered by the paṭṭaṇaswāmi or Mayor[2]. It is interesting to see that all these officers took active part in national wars, while they were equally responsible for the peace of their own provinces, and took great care that marauders and hostile forces did not cross their boundaries. It is not unusual that the neighbouring chiefs had a quarrel regarding the boundary and the quarrels invariably took the shape of cow-raids.

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 260.

The method of warfare adopted by the Hoysaḷas forms an interesting factor in their history. Their army consisted of foot soldiers, archers, the horse and the elephant. The horses in the Hoysaḷa country were used exclusively for the purpose of war, bullocks being used for routine work such as ploughing and drawing carts. The horses were imported by Brahmana merchants in ships[3]. From this we understand that they were brought across the sea from Arabia. The Turukshas of the western coast especially at Goa were most probably the Arabs who had settled for the purposes of trading. Their important trade was apparently in horses for, in A. D. 1179 we hear of Turukshas sending horses to the Kalachurya kings[4]. It was from these Turukshas that the horses were bought over by the local merchants and sold in

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[1] *E. C.*, IV, Kp, 31.

[2] *Q. J. M. S.*, II, p. 98.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 22.

[4] *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 93.

South India. These horses were domesticated and soldiers were trained to ride them. Separate schools were instituted for this purpose under the management of the State. In A. D. 1140 Vishṇuvardhana's queen Bammala-dēvi was managing a "crown riding school" and under her there was Anantha-pāḷa Sāhaṇi or trainer[1]. Sculptures on the walls of Kēta-rēśvara temple at Haḷebīd show the armours of the horses and of the riders. Some of the horses are covered with a large coat-of-mail descending well below the knees. It consists of steel scales overlaping downwards so as to facilitate the movement of the body. The heads of the horses are also well covered with plates of steel. The rider hides his legs up till the hips under the armour of the horse, while his head is covered with a flat helmet. These burly creatures were probably used when beseiging a fort, their armour being a protection against the hail of arrows from inside the fort. Some horses are not armed, except for a few straps round the neck and loins. The men however are completely armed, their legs and thigs being covered with mail. Such a cavalry was evidently used in open battles where agility and swiftness were required.

Inscriptions also inform us that camels were used during war. Thus Narasiṁha II is said to have destroyed the camels and elephants of his foes[2]. These were probably introduced into the south by the Yādavas of Dēvagiri with whom Narasiṁha II came into contact.

The elephants played an important part in battle. Their great size and immunity from arrows enabled them to charge against the enemy. It is very probable that the line of elephants also served the purpose of modern trenches in giving a safe shelter for the archers who could attack the enemy at a distance in the open plains, or when attacking a fort. The elephants were evidently captured in the forests of the Western Ghats and Malabar and were trained both for domestic purposes and for war. Elephants for the latter purpose required to be well trained since in the moment of excitement they might turn on their masters. Though the elevated position on the back of an elephant gave facilities to the soldier in a pitched battle, at the time of flight their slow movement was a disadvantage and hence they had to be left behind to the mercy of the enemies. Thus when the Yādava King Mahādēva who had come to attack the Hoysaḷas was forced to beat a retreat he abandoned his elephant and rode on his horse[1]. The importance of the elephant can be guaged from the number of trainers or *māvutas* that appear in the inscriptions. During the time of Ballāḷa II their centre was Kōḷigunda in Arsikere Taluk. They were probably a class by themselves, the occupation being hereditory. Some of these *māvutas* seem to have been wealthy. One of them Kēṭaya-Māvuta built a Śiva temple in A. D. 1197[2]. When the elephants were marched to battle they were conducted by couriers (harikāra)[3]. The army elephants were bound with heavy chains on the legs and round the stomach so as to control their movements. The elephants were led by a commander and under him there were the soldiers who rode on them. The instruments which the elephant riders used at the time of war cannot be conjectured. A vīragal in front of Tirkuṭēśvara temple at Hāṅgal, however, depicts them as using bows and arrows; but when they were in the thick of battle perhaps they used long spears to reach the foot soldiers.

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 58.

[2] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 272.

When encamping for battle, the elephants and horses were stationed on the outskirts of the camp and were tied to vertical stones half-buried in the ground for the purpose. The ruins of Haḷḷavūr on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra, one of the stations of Ballāḷa, bear traces of such a camp[4].

The chariots were drawn by horses and were a means of conveyance for the kings who marched to battle. Carvings in the Hoysaḷēṣvara temple show cars with four wheels and two wheels. All the cars are without borders or railings around; this apparently helped the occupants to escape in the time of need. The two-wheeled cars are very small and seem to be light. These were probably used either when the army had to flee or to pursue. It has got a perpendicular staff at the back on which is the symbol or the crest of the king. The chariots lead the army and the occupants use arrows when the enemy is at a distance; but when an occasion for a hand-to-hand fight comes they have recourse to sword and shield. Their elevated position gives them a better advantage to attack the enemy on foot. The kings are surrounded by a few faithful body guards or life-guards, to protect his person. These were called garuḍas during the time of Hoysaḷas, and they had a *toḍar* on their legs as a sign of their devotion to the king. Thus Chokkimayya was the garuḍa of Vishṇuvardhana and prince Lakshma was Ballāḷa's garuḍa[1].

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[1] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 39.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 4, 16, 150.

[3] *E. C.*, VII, Al, 7.

[4] *J. R. A. S.*, 1836, p. 25.

The king was sometimes seated on an elephant. Thus Narasiṁha II marched to battle against the Yādavas "mounted on a splendid howdah on his caparisoned elephant, and fixed the heads of his enemies on the flag-posts of the howdah"[2].

The soldiers in general wore a flat helmet descending down to the ears on the sides like a judge's wig; the legs below the knees were bare but the trunk must have been protected by mail; their swords were long, sometimes straight and sometimes arched. The shields which they used were either circular or square. They had rings in the inside to be fixed on the left arm; the square shields had a projection at the lower end in the shape of a bar for the purpose of resting them on the ground when soldiers stood at ease. The archers were an important factor in the army. The bows and arrows were most useful when defending a fort or when attacking the enemy at a long distance.

The army was well provided for. Special taxes were

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 69; *E. C.*, X, Bp, 9.

[2] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 35; *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 25.

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raised for the fodder of the beasts[1]. The men were clothed at the expense of the government and a Master was appointed for the clothing of all the army[2].

At the time of war there was naturally a great preparation. It is not likely that the army was drilled and given training for collective action as in modern days, but there was probably some sort of organisation to keep the descipline. The most important point that they considered was the bulk of the army rather than its proficiency. Thus we see that the Yādava Bhillama had marched with an army of 200,000 infantry and 12,000 horse. In case of need soldiers were hired either from the feudatories or from the neighbouring kings. For instance, in A. D. 1183 Ballāḷa's sēnādhipati was placed at the head of an army of "hired soldiers"[3]. The king sometimes gave grants to soldiers before the war to win over their affection and to make provision for their families[4]. It was customary for the king or the general to make grants to a temple or to pay homage to a favourite goddess before marching to battle. It is said of Ballāḷa that "being a favourite of the god Vijayanārāyaṇa he gained the empire of the South"[5]. So great was their faith that sometimes a faithful soldier offered himself in sacrifice for the success of a war. In A. D. 1180 a chief under Ballāḷa gave his head in order that the army to which he belonged might be victorious in war[6]. The army was accompanied by a chaplain (Kaṭakichārya) to perform the daily ceremonies[7].

We can imagine the army marching over hill and dale across mountains and rivers, and at night time resting in some sheltered spot. The king was in the front in his chariot, then the line of elephants marching abreast and the foot soldiers with their bows and arrows behind them; then the cavalry, and then waggons carrying food and other requisites. There was also "deep voiced" drum which could be "heard from afar"[1], elating the spirits of the soldiers and striking terror into the hearts of the weak enemy.

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 242.
[2] *Ibid.*, Bl, 166.
[3] *E. C.*, IX, Cp, 160.
[4] Cf. *E. C.*, IV, Hs, 20.
[5] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 266.
[6] *E. C.*, X, Dg, 41.
[7] Cf. *E. C.*, IX, Cg, 40.

The method of carrying the banners was much the same as in modern days. The crests or the symbols were drawn on cloth and fixed to a "rod" and were carried either by hand or attached to the chariots and the howdahs[2]. Narasiṁha II is said to have fixed the heads of the Yādava generals Vikramapāla and Pāvusa on the flagposts and to the howdah of his state elephant[3].

The object of an aggressive army was to attack the forts. They are described as being of three kinds: those in the sea, in the forest and on the hills[4]. The forts on the hills, for instance that of Uchchaṅgi, were generally impregnable and it required great caution to approch them. Ballāḷa seems to have attacked the Uchchaṅgi fort by urging his elephants to dig the walls with the tusks and by setting fire wherever possible, to form a breach. In such a case the occupants had to rush out and offer fight or flee for safety. Thus we see the Kadambas fighting with Ballāḷa's forces outside the fort of Hāṅgal. The vīragal in front of the Tirkutēśvara temple gives a graphic illustration of a battle. It shows a desparate effort of the Kadamba soldiers who must have rushed out of the fort. The battle was a picture of chaos, both armies in disorder fighting man to man. Sometimes when the army did not find any way to attack a fort a dare-devil attempt had to be made by some bold soldier who was willing to lose his life. The hero was sometimes selected by the commander himself and was offered a betel leaf as a sign of honour[5]. Thus in A. D. 1203 when Ballāḷa was trying to attack the fort of Udare one Hariyaṇa "taking a shield, and climbing the steeps of the Udare fort, dropped down in front, and killing many, descharging his duty in an astonishing manner....gained the world of gods''. Such a trick had a psychological effect on the occupants of the forts and it created confusion and disorder among them. In A. D. 1138 when Vishṇuvardhana was outside the fort of Hāṅgal "and was looking on (Leṅkarāya, his soldier) mounted an elephant, descended into the fort of Hānuṅgal and slaughtered the enemy's force of elephants and horses[2]."

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[1] *I. A.*, II, 303.
[2] *E. C.*, IX, Bn, 6; Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 33.
[3] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 25.
[4] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 108.
[5] *E. C.*, VIII, Sa, 84-85.

An inscription dated A. D. 1220 speaks of the courage of a hero in an open battle. It was the time when one Bijjāṇa had come to capture the elephant of Narasiṁha II. Jasapāla leaving the line in front of the battle......stationed his elephant behind and causing it to strike, destroyed Bijjāṇa's army, seized his horse alive and making it over again went into the fight and attained the world of gods [3]".

By the expression "destruction of a city" we understand that it was burnt and the property looted. Thus Eṛeyaṅga is said to have burnt Dhārā the capital of Mālava and Ballāḷa burnt the city of Uchchaṅgi. After the conquest of Uchchaṅgi Ballāḷa carried with him the treasury, women and troops of horses [4]. When plundering the village on a plain the soldiers "harried the cows and loosed the waists of women," but when attacking a village in the mountains regions they destroyed the plantations. Vishṇuvardhana is said to have carried on destruction on the Western Ghats by plucking the arecanut and cocoa-nut trees and felling the teak-wood trees [5].

The soldiers were given generous rewards in this world and were promised greater ones in the next. Vīragals were raised in memory of the fallen and provisions made for the maintenance of their families. When a soldier was sworn in

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[1] *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 244.
[2] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 202.
[3] *Ibid.*, Bl, 113.
[4] *E. C.*, II, 327 (124).
[5] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 76.

to make him the garuḍa or the life guard of the king, the latter bestowed on him the "toḍar" which was worn on the left foot. It was made of gold with carved images on it[1]. A high distinction often mentioned in connection with prominent public men is the "gaṇḍa peṇḍāra"[2]. This was a golden anklet, apparently worn on the right leg. In the case of Prince Lakshma it was set with clusters of pearls[3]. The "paṭṭa" or the golden hand (to be worn on the fore-head) seems to be a dignified symbol and was a mark of royalty or distinction. The Chalukya King Tailappa-dēva bound a paṭṭa on the victorious general Eṛiyamma in A. D. 1096[4]. The "vibhūti paṭṭa" which was common in the time of the Hoysaḷas seems to have the same meaning; but it was meant as a badge of authority over a certain district. Thus in A. D. 1228 all the citizens and ascetics bound the vibhūti-paṭṭa on goldsmith Hasumbihali Nīla for the government of Śivapuri[5]. The bestowing of royalty or "raising to the peerage" was sometimes done by the present of precious articles such as a chariot.[6] Vishṇuvardhana bestowed on his nadapa or betel-bearer Chikka-Haḍevallam, "what were considered the emblems of royalty, such as a splendid chariot, a palankeen, an embroidered betel-pouch, a throne with a large winged canopy and was proclaimed to be in truth, the favourite of his lord"[6]. When Ballāḷa II marched to Uchchangi he was so pleased with the skill in archery displayed by a Kērala merchant named Kunja-Śeṭṭi, that he bound on him the "Subhâta" (the crown of a good warrior), in spite of the fact that he belonged to the enemy's forces. Nevertheless this appreciation showed by the Hoysaḷa monarch, won him over to his side, and his brother, Kunjanambi, figured as a great politician under Sōmēśvara[7].

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 112.
[2] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 36, 44.
[3] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 112.
[4] *E. C.*, VIII, Sa, 80.
[5] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 105.
[6] *E. C.*, III, Md, 121.
[7] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 103.

A glimpse into the administration of justice in the Hoysaḷa country can be had from the inscriptions chiefly from those of the period of Narasiṁha III. One at Hāḷebiḍ states that Dēvanna sold a house site to Bhaṇḍāri Ādiyaṇṇa in A. D. 1251, and that subsequently his sons Nāgaṇṇa and Sōvaṇṇa, not knowing this, wanted to take possession of the site. The case went to the king who told them they were bound to carry out the wishes of their father and decided the case in favour of the other party[1].

Another inscription in the Mandya Taluk informs us about the settlement of an important dispute between two feudatories who had fought a battle regarding the boundary. The king however intervened and gave the grant of victory to Kaṇṇayya of Garuḍa-haḷḷi; and the copperplate of that village was brought to settle the question of the boundary line. But the people of the neighbouring territory of Muruḍi-pura raised an objection on oath saying that there was no agreement about it from the former time, and that the boundary stones were set up by force. But Kaṇṇayya thinking that they would make the existing agreement vain, induced them to let it continue, protested that the land was his and causing a head writing to be engraved stating whereto that Muruḍi extended, he underwent a form of ordeal by holding the consecrated food in the presence of the god Hoysaḷēśvara of the royal city of Dōrasamudra, and was successful (or won the case). Therefore, in order that the stones set up by his ancestors for that warrior might continue as the boundary, the King Vīra-Narasiṁha-Dēva granted certain lands to Kaṇṇayya[2].

An inscription in Arkalgud Taluk publishes the punishment to be given to trespassers of a royal grant. Narasiṁha had made a grant of the village Hebbale in Kongu-nāḍ for the god Viśvēśvara of Benares. The inscription closes with the following warnings: "Whoso of the nāḍ officials or others enters the place on the plea of forced labour or camping is false and will go to ruin. In the Tuesday fair of that town whatever official exacts tolls, fire-wood, grain.... has transgressed the order of the emperor Vīra-Narasiṁha-Dēvarasa. Whoever does this will be flogged, degraded and dismissed. If an official, he will be dismissed"[1].

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1911-12, p. 44.

[2] *E. C.*, III, Md, 79.

A few of the Chōḷa customs and manners especially their village administration, when compared to that of the Karnāṭaka people which have been mentioned in the previous chapters may be of some interest. The village assemblies constituted three different classes. The first class was made up of the Brahmanas especially in the Brahmana villages and a member was required to have enjoyed a good character and to have studied the mantra brahmaṇa and the dharma. The two other classes consisted of all the residents of a village including cultivators, professionals and merchants[2]. The village assembly was held responsible for the unpaid balance of assessment on the village in the Chōḷa country[3]. Lands were purchased for the construction of roads and made tax free[4]. Some of the rules in the villages of the Chōḷa countries were:—From the 14th year it shall be a rule that a woman who is wedded to a person, shall, on the demise of the latter, become the owner of the lands, jewels, slaves, etc. Brahmaṇas shall not till lands with bulls yoked to the plough. Those classes that are engaged as labourers shall not become vēḷ or araśu. Kāvidis, potters, drummers, weavers and barbers shall not keep locks of hair. During their mournings or joyous occasions big drums shall not be beaten; and they shall not have sway over slaves. Bullocks grazing near the village channels shall be impounded in pens erected for the purpose. Potters who make small lamps and pots shall wear an upper cloth[5]. Provisions were made for hospitals and hostels for students. The students were provided with food, bathing-oil on Saturdays and with oil for lamps. One particular hospital was provided with 15 beds for sick people, and the following persons items of expenditure were set apart for their comforts: rice, one doctor in whose family the privilege of administering medicine was hereditary, one surgeon, two servants who fetched drugs, supplied fuel and did other services for the hospital, two maid servants for nursing the patients and a general servant for the hospital and school hostel[1]. The villages were even provided with a library (sarasvati bhaṇḍāra)[2].

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Ag, 21.

[2] *M. E. R.*, 1913, p. 98.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

[5] *M. E. R.*, 1919, p. 97.

The culprits in the Chōḷa country were however let off with a cheap punishment. An inhabitant of Brahmadēśam was charged with murder, but on his having pleaded that the victim was killed accidentally he was ordered to give 128 cows for maintaining four lamps in the village temple in order to expiate his sin[3]. Many other inscriptions dated in the thirteenth century mention accidental murders, and the accused were let off by the village assemblies with the injunction to pay either cows or sheep or land to the temples. In one particular instance two persons beat a man who had allowed his buffalo to enter the field of the former and spoil the crop. By the effect of the beating the man died. The Bhaṭṭas of the assembly asked the culprits to present a lamp to the village god and to give 48 sheep for its maintenance[4].

Rāmanātha being a ruler in the Chōḷa countries many of these customs must have been prevalent in his territory. Thus Rāmanātha's kingdom was the merging point of the Chōḷa and Karnāṭaka customs.

The method of rising taxes in the Hoysaḷa territory will be worthy of mention here. The assessment, under the Chōḷas in A. D. 1046, is said to be one-sixth of the produce, and this was the recognised Hindu rate from the earliest times. But a quarter of a century later it is described in more detail as a fifth of the produce of forest tracts and of lands on which dry crops are raised, and a third of the produce of lands below a tank in which paddy is grown. From an early period the great provinces and their sub-divisions had their revenue value attached to them. Thus Kuntala was a Seven and a Half Lakh country, Gangavāḍi was a Ninety-Six Thousand, Banavasi a Twelve-Thousand, Nolambavāḍi a Thirty two thousand, Kongalnāḍu an Eight Thousand, Belvōla a Three Hundred etc.[1].

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[1] *M. E. R.*, 1916, p. 119.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1914, p. 92.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 148.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1919, p. 99.

In the Hoysaḷa country imposts were levied on lands whether used for building purposes or for cultivation; land rent, plough tax, house tax, forced labour, accountants fee, provender, unexpected visitor, army, double payment, change of district, threshing floor, tribute, coming of age, festivity, subscription, boundary marks, birth of a son, fodder for elephants, fodder for horses, sale within the village, favour of the palace, alarm, seizure, destruction, or injustice caused by the nāḍ or the magistrate[2], loom tax, smoke tax[3], breeding bull, supply for the capital pleasure carriages, ghee, leaves, ropes, thread, despatches, good bullocks, good buffaloes, sugar-cane mill[4], low caste[5], child tax from Holeyas[6], boatman's taxes, tax on potters, washermen, prostitutes, carts, masons, basket makers, shepherds, barbers[7], smell in the fort, cattle pound, breach of rules, tribute to the prince[8], tax on woven women's clothes[9], tax on Jainas[10] etc.

Many of these taxes were evidently levied as fines or as an attempt to suppress a particular sect or community.

The customs duties or sunkas are spoken of as the perjjunka or the hejjunka on wholesale articles in bulk, and the kirukula on miscellaneous and retail articles. There was also the vaḍḍa-ravula. An elaborate system existed for the levy of the duties, especially in the west, where the transport of grain and other commodities had to be carried on by means of pack-bullocks[1]. We have seen many of the Customs officers enjoying the highest rank at the Hoysaḷa Court, sometimes even as daṇṇāyakas and ministers. They occasionally exercised their freedom in remitting customs dues to a temple, or empowering the Brahmans to levy the taxes from the villages.

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[1] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer*, p. 173.

[2] Ibid., p. 174.

[3] *E. C.*, IX, Cp, 65.

[4] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 38.

[5] *E. C.*, XI, Cd, 32.

[6] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 181.

[7] *E. C.*, IV, Hs, 137.

[8] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 139.

[9] *E. C.*, XI, Hr, 37.

[10] *E. C.*, X, Kl, 18.

Commerce was carried on by a separate class. They were sometimes called the Baṇajigaru or members of the vīra Banajee dharma[2]. Their praises are so expressed as to convey a double meaning attributing to them in one sense royal birth, heroic deeds etc., as if they were of royal blood, and in another sense alluding to their travels and business transactions[3]. The merchants were commonly surnamed as Śeṭṭy, and they had the title "Maha Vaḍḍa Vyavahāri"[4]. Some of the great merchants were of Brahman descent. One of these imported horses, elephants and pearls and sold them to kings, and "transported goods from the east to the west, and those that were suitable from the west to the east; products from the north to the south and those of the south to the north"[5].

In general they were said to be the residents of Ayyāvale and many other chief grāmas, nāgaras, khedas, khārvaḍas, madambas, paṭṭaṇas, drōṇamukhas, and samvahāṇas of Chēra, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Maleya, Magadha, Kausala, Saurāsṭra, Dhanushtra, Kurumbha, Kambhoja, Golla, Lala, Barvara, Parasa, Nēpaḷa, Ēkapada, Lambakarna, Strirājya and Gholamukha, and other cities at all the cardinal points, travelling by land and by water, penetrating into many regions with superior elephants, well-bred horses, large sapphires, crystals, pearls, rubies, diamonds, lapis lazuli, onyx, topaz, carbuncles, coral, emeralds, karkkatana, and various articles of lesser value such as cardamoms, cloves, red sandal, sandal, camphor, musk, kunkuma, and perfumes; which by selling wholesale, or by hawking about as pedlars, they completely filled the emperor's treasury[1].

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[1] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer*, p. 175.

[2] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 120.

[3] *Ibid.*, Introd., p. 90.

[4] *E. C.*, III, Ml, 56.

[5] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 22.

From their wealth, it is evident, that they wielded vast influence in the country and they were approached for philanthropic works such as the building of temples and tanks. In A. D. 1054 all the merchants of Balligrāme paṭṭana contributed their mite to the god Gangēśvara as follows:—

The shops of the nagaras ten visa each a year; the gold merchants ten visa each a year; the Sthala gavaregaḷu one paṇa a year per sack; the gavari of other countries one hāga a year per sack; for camphor, musk, kunkuma, sandal, pearls and all such articles sold by weight, two kani per ponnu; cloth merchants of the place and foreign merchants two kani per ponnu; for black pepper, cusumin seed, mustard, sada flower, bishop's weed and coriander one visa per pon; for sugar, assafoetida, dry ginger, long pepper cardamoms, green ginger, turmeric, and all fibres and roots sold by weight, one visa per pon[2].

In the thirteenth century, when the Hoysaḷas held sway over the Chōḷa countries, the Maleyāḷa merchants figured as the most prominent. An inscription of A. D. 1234 introduces us to the benefactor of both sects, Nāna Dēsi and the best of the Vaishya Kula, Dāmodar Seṭṭi who hailed from the Kolemuka paṭṭaṇa in the Kērala country. He was an expert in the examination of goods and animals[3]. In A. D. 1255 his younger brother Kuñjanambi brought about a treaty of peace between King Ballaha in the north and Hoysaḷa King Sōmēśvara in the south. He was an expert in testing all manner of gems[4].

In this particular instance we see that sometimes the chief merchants wielded their influence in politics. During the time of Ballāḷa II the Mahā vaḍḍa behari Kamota Malla was the great merchant over 72 officials; he once ordered a village to be raided[1]. The merchant class attained the height of prosperity during the reign of Ballāḷa II who seems to have been very popular with them[2].

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[1] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 123, 124.

[2] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 125.

[3] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 82.

[4] *Ibid.*, Ak, 108.

There were guilds to organise the trade in a country. There were the Pāñchālas or five guilds of artisans[3]. The official with the designation "the chief protector of all the traders" was at the head of the guilds[4]. Their formal assembly was generally accompanied with setting up the diamond vaisaṇige or baysaṇige, as the symbol of their guild[5].

It is interesting to know some of the customs in the Hoysaḷa country which are prevalent even to this day. A Chikamagalur inscription introduces us to the games with pebbles called the "Annekal" and "tirekal". The first consists of tossing up pebbles from one hand to the other, so as to keep one always in the air; the second, of picking one up from the ground while another is in the air[6]. The latter is still a popular indoor game in the Kanarese countries. The familiar sweet-meats such as hoḷige, uṇḍe, hurige, laḍḍu, shikhāriṇi, commonly found in the South Indian markets are mentioned in the "Pārśvanāthapurāṇa" written by Pārśvapaṇḍita, a court poet of the Raṭṭa rāja Kārtavirya in A. D. 1205[7]. The dripping pot, a mechanism to read the time of the day is mentioned as having been provided for in a temple towards the end of the twelfth century[8]. The gandhasāli rice, a kind of sweet smelling grain, much smaller in size than the ordinary rice is mentioned in an inscription dated in A D. 1220[9]. The rice is even now very popular and is consumed by the aristocratic families among Hindus in

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[1] *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 247.
[2] *E. C.*, XI, Introd., 21.
[3] *E. C.*, IV, Gu, 34.
[4] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 73.
[5] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 75. *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 59.
[6] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 22-22.
[7] Narasimhachar, *Kannada Kavi-Charite*, I, p. 327.
[8] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 73.
[9] *Ibid.*, Ak, 77.

Mysore and Kanara, it is also used by the Muhammadans for their favourite rice-dish called the "pilau". Money was buried in the twelfth century as is the case among the villagers today[1]. Such a custom was quite natural in those days when banks were few and untrustworthy, and Governments were weak and transitory. Acrobatic feats were a popular public performance of the time. The poet Sōmarāja describes a feat ಡೊಂಬರು in his ಶೃಂಗಾರಸಾರ written in A. D. 1222[2].

Life at the court of the Hoysaḷa kings is another important factor in the internal history of the period. The splendour of the Hoysaḷa court is seen chiefly after the time of Vishṇuvardhana who was acknowledged as a first-rate ruler. In A. D. 1117, after his glorious conquests in the south he performed the Hiraṇyagarbha (having a golden cow made large enough to admit his crawling through it and after that ceremony, breaking and distributing it to Brahmanas) the Tulāpurusha (weighing himself against gold and distributing it among the Brahmanas) and the Aśva-mēdha or the horse sacrifice. All these were rare performances and signified the greatness of the king[3]. The first screen to the right of the eastern doorway of the Kēśava temple at Belur represents his durbar[4]. The screen is divided into three panels. The top panel has the god Kēśava in the centre surrounded by Chauri bearers as well as Hanuman and Garuḍa. The middle one shows the king and queen seated at the centre. There are two gurus seated to the right of the king, one of them raising his hand in a teaching pose, while behind the queen stands a female attendant. There are, besides, a large number of officers and servants at the back. The king holds a sword in his right hand and a flower in the left. The lower panel represents lions with riders on their backs.

A slab depicting a male and a female figure of royal appearance is situated opposite to the Kappe-Chennigarāya temple at Beḷur[1], whose god was erected by Śāntaḷa-dēvi. The figures most probably represent Vishṇuvardhana and Śāntaḷa-dēvi. The male figure wears a tall, richly jewelled cone-shaped cap. It is supposed to be the crown or the kirīṭa. He wears large ear-rings, with four diamonds in each. They are pendulous and similar to those of modern women, while those of the female figure are large wheel shaped ones fixed to distended ear-lobes, like the ear-rings of Malabar women. She has no head-wear, but the head is covered with strings of precious stones. The male figure wears a long robe extending down to the feet with rich embroidery and ornaments on the lower half, while round his neck large stones are strung. The female figure wears heavy ornaments on the waist the ends of which hang down in front.

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[1] *Ibid.*, Hn, 76.

[2] Narasimhachar; *Kannada Kavicharite*, I, p. 343.

[3] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 215.

[4] Narasinhachar, *Kesava Temple at Belur*, Plate XIII.

As we learn from some other sources[2] we can picture Vishṇuvardhana as seated on a throne with a large white canopy overhead and a foot-stool beneath, and fanned by groups of Chāmaras. His large ear-rings are set with all manner of gems won in victory over his enemies, while his breast is adorned with rows of pearls, and emaralds as large as mirabolums. He also wears armlets while the pomp and insignia consists of the white conch, the lofty umbrella, the golden rod, and multitude of Chāmaras[3], who are also described as "crowds of beautiful girls with long hanging tressess"[4].

The ladies of the time were highly accomplished thanks to the influence of Jaina religion which encouraged them to be the lay desciples of priests, thus overlooking sex prejudices. Even queens of the time, as for example Śāntaḷa-dēvi, were devout pupils of these Jaina gurus, and they became very learned in literature and sacred scriptures. Kanti, was a great poetess in the Court of Ballāḷa I and she used to carry on discourses with the sages of the day.

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[1] *Ibid.*, Plate XXXVIII.

[2] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 262. *E. C.*, V, Bl, 124.

[3] *E. C.*, XII, Gb, 13.

[4] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 58.

Besides, fine arts such as dancing, singing, and instrumental music, were considered to be a great accomplishment among the women of the noble family, though the questionable occupation of the dancing girls might have brought a black-mark on the art of dancing.

We have seen that the three daughters of Mariyane, whose proficiency in these arts had won the love and admiration of Ballāḷa I, were given in marriage to him in the same pendal. Also Śāntala-dēvi was praised for her knowledge of dancing and music. In A. D. 1113, Gaṅga Rāja Permadi married Balachi-dēvi who was a perfect dancer[1]. The way in which she fascinated the king was like a play (Nāṭaka), and he gave her the title Pātra-jaga-daḷe (Head of the world of dancers). The Kalachurya Somēśvara's queen Sovala-dēvi danced in public[2]. Such a systamatic art must necessarily require a school. Thus we find in an inscription of the Gajāpati kings that there was a professor of the dancing art[3]. The art of dancing must have attained a high state of perfection. Some of the carved pictures represent Hoysaḷa dancing-girls in breaches[4], which were perhaps necessary for the free movement of the body.

It is evident that the ladies were highly cultured both in arts and letters and the women generally married at a mature age sometimes choosing their mates by free choice. The women had fine arts to their credit while the men had military prowess to theirs; thus inviting mutual admiration. But the pure love between young people and the sanctity of Hindu marriage were not unoften tarnished by the social sanction given to promiscuous concubinage. Even poets saw woman through sensuous eyes and conveyed their idea of female beauty by the exaggeration of the parts of a woman's physique, which is so well corroboated in the idols and naked images of the time. An ideal beauty was expected to have the "lazy gait of a swan" and "large dreamy eyes languid with passion". Concubinage was almost a fashion among the gentry and this necessitated a regular traffic in girls from all parts of India — from Bengal, Gujerat and Andhra. The kings and the noble men of the country, probably bought them and confined them in their harems. The notorious case was that of Narasiṁha I, already mentioned, who like a "royal swan" was "sporting" with three hundred and eighty-four "well-born women", and he died of the sport[1]. It is interesting to note that just at the time when Narasiṁha had these women of different nationalities in his palace, women of the same description were in the harem of his feudatory the Sāmantha Biṭṭimayya of Huliyera[2]. Probably they had bought them over together. Sometimes these girls were sent as a present to the King. Thus in A. D. 1180 the Kalachurya King Sankamma was sent young girls from Lala (Koṅkaṇa)[3]. This large number of women in the palace required an organised establishment for their maintenance and thus the king had an officer in the capacity of a president of the concubines or a "chief of the female apartments"[4]. The king naturally must have been partial to one woman or other, and created jealousy and discord in the female apartments. A chief queen had sometimes to be "a rutting elephant to ill-mannered co-wives"; and one of the wives of Narasiṁha himself, Ketala-dēvi, received that title[5].

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[1] *E. C.*, VII, Sh, 97.

[2] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XVIII, pp. 272, 279.

[3] *M. E. R.*, 1921-22, p. 96.

[4] *M. A. R.*, 1910-11, p. 8.

The common people who could not afford the luxury of a harem approached women of low morality and generally the dancing girls in temples. There is an interesting epigraph at Belur[6] which runs "those consorting with Hoysaḷēśvara dancing girls who are not dancing girls who go to Hari (or Vishnu) are out-casts." Putting it in plain English it means that those dancing girls of the Śiva temple who go to worship in Vaishnava temples contrary to their rules were dismissed from their post and hence men consorting with them were made outcasts. A Chalukya inscription of the beginning of the eleventh century informs us of the different occupations of women in a temple at Sudi: public women acting for the gods enjoyments who is attached to the "piriyara", public women attached to the steward, four public women at the columns of the right and left sides, four fan-bearing public women on the right and left sides, four dancers, two public women in use. Finally there was a steward for the public women[1]. Thus it is curious to note that the public women had a steward, and the steward had a public woman. People of the society of the time attributed all the human passions to their gods and with the desire of appeasing their passions they naturally offered women to their gods. The women as well as the food offered to the inanimate gods of the temple were of course to be used by the devotees. Even their idea of happiness in heaven ran on the same lines. A warrior who died in battle was believed to be "enjoying the celestial nymphs."

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[1] *Supra*, p. 131.
[2] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 327.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 77.
[4] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 138.
[5] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 54.
[6] *Ibid.*, Bl, 240.

We therefore understand that prostitution was legalised among the dancing girls, and any respectable man could approach them without losing his honour. It also throws light on the character of the Brahmin ministers of a temple who accommodated such women.

Balakoja a sculptor had the title "Gallant of the harlots"; and he was apparently proud of it. The rich people sometimes had children by their female slaves, and in the absence of legal issue their property was allowed to be transfered to the illigitimate children[3]. From these inscriptions we can infer that concubines were not outside the pale of society. But professional prostitutes did not enjoy a good reputation and the government levied taxes on them[4].

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[1] *E. I.*, XV, p. 93.
[2] *E. C.*, VI, Mg, 22.
[3] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 219.
[4] *E. C.*, IV, Hs, 137.

But people considered it a great sin to have illicit relations with the legal wife of another person. Adultery was perhaps punished and those who took up the cause of justice were titled the champions over adulterers (Sitagara-ganda). This was a hereditary title of the Huliyera chiefs.[1] The kings and nobles, as we understand from the inscriptions, styled themselves as the brothers or sons of others' wives. The sin of adultery was however overlooked during the time of war, and the wives of the enemy were considered to be a legal booty from the spoils of battle. Thus Vishṇuvardhana had taken the wives of the Chōḷa chief Narasiṁha. One of the chief features of village raids was the capture of cows and the "loosening of the waists of women."

Though men, even of the highest birth, were sometimes licentious, the ladies were expected to be free from such sin. Society and religion prescribed that a woman should always be faithful to her husband, and even after his death she was encouraged to perform the *sati* to join her husband in heaven. Man was allowed to be poligamous, but woman must be faithful to her lord, living or dead.

The prosperity of the Hoysaḷa kingdom and the lull after the storm of religious upheaval during the time of Vishṇuvardhana facilitated the development of Kanarese literature and learning. The keen competition for the knowledge of scriptures and philosophy between the Jainas and Vaishṇavas brought about a literary revival and many members of the nobility made a thorough study of literature side by side with religion.

During the time of the Hoysaḷas as in all other times of ancient Hindu rulership the chief centre of learning was the *agrahāra*, a settlement of Brahmans, generally on the outskirts of a city, established mainly for the purpose of *puṇya* or the acquisition of merit. These *agrahāras* attracted the young men of the cities owing to the great learning of the Brahmans there and eventually some of the *agrahāras* became universities where the eighteen *vidyas* or sciences comprising the four Vēdas (Rig, Yaju, Sāman and Atharwaṅ); the six Vēdāṅgas, namely Siksha (Phonetics), Vyākaraṇa (Grammar), Chhaṅdas (Prosody), Nirukta (Etymology), Jyutisha (Astronomy) and Kalpa (Ritual); Mimāṁsa (principles of Vedic exegesis), Nyāya (Logic), Purāṇa, Dharmaśāstra (Law); and the four Upavēdas or minor Vēdas namely, Āyurvēda (medicine), Dhanurvēda (science of weapons), Gandharva-vēda (music), and Sthāpathyōpa-vēda (technical arts such as carpentry and architecture) were taught.[1]

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[1] *E. C.*, II, 345 (137).

[2] Cf. *E. C.*, II, Tk, 38.

After the revival of Vaishṇavism, many of such *agrahāras* were created under the patronage of Vishṇuvardhana and Narasiṁha. Among such *agrahāras* were the Harihārapura *agrahāra* consisting of two hundred Brahmans, to which Vishṇuvardhana granted the village of Kellangere in A. D. 1141.[2] The Vishṇusamudra *agrahāra* situated near the Vishṇusamudra tank, founded by Vishṇuvardhana, acquired great celebrity during Ballāḷa II and consisted of four-hundred Brahmans.[3] In A. D. 1117 Vishṇuvardhana had encouraged the learned Sri Vaishṇava Brahmans of the Channa Kēśava and Laxmī Nārāyana temples to compose prayers and songs and had given liberal grants for their support.[4] In A.D. 1125 he had granted the Salya village on the banks of the Kaverī for the maintenance of the Jaina guru, Śrīpāla-traividya-dēva, who was a teacher in the "six schools of logic".[5] Śrīpāla was also a famous poet in the court of Vishṇuvardhana.[6] In A. D. 1147 Narasiṁha gave donations to the Morale *agrahāra* of the Śaiva Brahmans.[7] There was also an *agrahāra* at Talihūr.[8]

The revival of learning brought to the surface a large number of poets, some of whose works are still treasured up as master-pieces of Kanarese literature. According to the history of Kanarese literature, this period comes under the Jaina period,[1] but there was a large number of Brahman poets also. Jaina poetry had however acquired not a little fame even in the time of Ballāḷa I.

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[1] *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 159.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 110, 117.

[3] *M. A. R.*, 1925, p. 62.

[4] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 265.

[5] *E. C.*, V, Cn, 149.

[6] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 69.

[7] Ibid., Cm, 140.

[8] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 145.

The most famous poet at the court of Ballāḷa was Nāgachandra. Among his works the best known is *Rāmachandracharitapurāṇa* which is commonly known as the *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa.* He also wrote the *Mallināthapurāṇa.* The poet was otherwise called Abhinavapampa. He probably came from Vijayapura (Bijapur) and belonged to an aristocratic Jaina family. He may be called the Poet Laureate of the Hoysaḷa Court. He became famous as a Sanskrit and Kannada poet (ದೊರೆರಾಯನಾಸ್ಥಾನದ ಕನ್ನಡಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಮಹಾಕವಿಗಧಿಪರ್).

The other great figure at the court of Ballāḷa mentioned previously was the poetess Kānti.[1] She was a scholar (ಪಂಡಿತೆ) and was holding debates with the chief poet of the Court. Her fame became so great that tradition attributes her powerful intellect to an accident which happened to her when she was young. The poet Dēvachandra narrates the story of the accident. "When Ballāḷa was ruling, his minister Dharmachandra's son became a famous school-master. He once produced an elixir (ಜ್ಯೋತಿಸ್ಮತೀತೈಲ)[3] and preserved it in a small pot. This oil had such wonderful qualities that a drop of it could cure any boy of his stupidity. The little girl Kānti, not knowing what it was, swallowed all the contents of the pot; and then her stomach began to burn so much that she had to stand in neck deep water. Thus she acquired her literarary talent which was spread far and wide until it reached the ears of the Poet Laureate Abhinavapampa, who hurried to the spot and interrogated her with a thousand questions. She having replied all of them the poet presented her at Court where she acquired great fame"[1].

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[1] Rice, *Kanarese Literature,* p. 42.

[2] Narasimhachar, *Kannada Kavi Charite,* I, p. 111.

[3] Jyotismati is a seed sold in the Indian markets and according to Ayurvedic doctors it revives one's memory when it is swallowed.

Among the poets of the time of Vishṇuvardhana were Vishṇudaṇḍādhipa, the son of Rāyana daṇḍādhipa, a minister of Vishṇuvardhana[2] and Śāntha Mahantha a Jaina priest of the time of Vishṇuvardhana. One of the inscriptions in Nāgamangala composed by him shows that his poetry was highly accomplished.[3] Poet Rājāditya was a court poet of Vishṇuvardhana in A. D. 1120. He was a great Jaina scholar and had made a study of arithmetic and geometry. His works are ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಣಿತ, ವ್ಯವಹಾರರತ್ನ, ಲೀಲಾವತಿ, ಚಿತ್ರಹಸುಗೆ. etc.[4] Poet Samanōbāṇa was a teacher and a great poet in the court of Narasiṁha, but none of his works have come down to us.[5] The poet Sōmanāṭha was the guru of Ganga Rāja's son Boppa.[6] In about A. D. 1150 he wrote the "ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕಕಲ್ಯಾಣಕಾರಕ" (a book on medicine) and the book was corrected by the poets Samanōbāṇa and Abhayachandra-Sidhānta.[7] Poet Dēvabhadra Muni of the time of Narasiṁha was proficient both in Kanarese and Sanskrit.[8] Poet Haṁsa-dēva belonged to the same period.[9] Poet Ādhyāya was another; he was born in Saurāśtra and after coming to Puligere in A. D. 1150 he defeated the Jaiṇas in a religious controversy. He wrote a book containing 206 proverbs.[10] Perhaps the greatest of all the poets of the time of Narasiṁha was Rāghavāṅka, the author of the well known *Harischandra Kāvya*, besides which he wrote ಸೋಮನಾಥಚರಿತೆ, ಸಿದ್ಧರಾಮಪುರಾಣ etc. He was born in Kuntaḷa Dēśa on the banks of the Tungabhadrā, from where he paid a visit to the court of Narasiṁha under the influence of his minister Kereya Padmarasa,[1] who was a great patron of learning.

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[1] *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 137.

[2] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 28.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Narasimhachar, *Kannada Kavi Charite*, I, p. 126.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

[6] *E. C.* II, 384.

[7] Narasimhachar, *Kannada Kavi Charite*, I, p. 164.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 216; *E. C.* XII, Ck, 21.

[9] *E. C.*, XII, Ck, 32.

[10] Narasimhachar, *Kannada Kavi Charite*, I, p. 204.

Literature and learning were steadily progressing during the reign of Ballāḷa. The famous Sthānaguṇḍa Agrahāra in Kuntaḷa which had been first established by Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba with thirty-two Brahmana families from the north, had come under the Kalachuryas, but after their downfall Ballāḷa was acknowledged as the king. During this time the agrahāra was in a very prosperous condition with 32,000 Brahmanas.[2] In A. D. 1185 Ballāḷa made Mollēśvara in Aśandi-nāḍ an agrahāra and dedicated it to the gods Vajrēśvara and Nārāyaṇa.[3] Another agrahāra was established at Nāgara-navile in Nirguṇḍa-nāḍ by all the "Kusagal",[4] while a maṭha or college of learning was attached to the Kaderēśvara temple at Beḷagāmve.[5] In A. D. 1194 Ballāḷa "formed an agrahara called Nīraḷige in Vīra-Ballāḷa Chaturvedi Mangala and bestowed the 202 *vrittis* into which the lands of the agrahāra were divided on learned men whose activities were the fourteen branches of learning, the six Vēdangas, the four Vēdas, logic, Dharma Sastra, Purāṇa and Mimāmsa''.[6] The imparting of education to the ignorant was considered to be a great act of charity: "who so gives a *vritti* to a teacher and thus provides instruction for the people, what gift has he not made, for procuring merit, pleasure and wealth? Who so supplies students with food, unguents and clothes, or else gives them alms, that man will have all his desires fulfilled, of this there is no doubt''.[7]

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[1] Narasimhachar, *Kannada Kavi Charite,* I. p. 235.

[2] *E. C.,* VII, Sk, 186.

[3] *E. C.,* VI, Tk, 20.

[4] *E. C.,* V, Cn, 211.

[5] *Chalukyan Architecture,* 1926, p. 108.

[6] *M. A. R.* 1923, p. 36.

[7] *E. C.,* VII, Sk, 185.

Among the poets of Ballāḷa's time there were the minister Būchirāja, who was considered to be a very proficient Jaina Kavi, both in Sanskrit and Kannada literature;[1] Dēvapayya (A. D. 1174) who was a famous composer of Śāsanas;[2] poet Rudrabhaṭṭa who wrote the famous Jaiminī-bhārata (A. D. 1180[3]) poet Śrī-Vikramapaṇḍita, who wrote many Śaṣanas;[4] poet Śānthinātha;[5] poet Mallayya, *pandita* of chief poets (A. D. 1192);[6] poet Hariharasūri (A. D. 1194;)[7] poet Achaṇṇa son of the famous poet and general of the Kalachuryas, Kesimayya who was governing Banavasi; Āchaṇṇa however was a subject of Ballāḷa and was residing at Huligere under the patronage of general Rēchaṇṇa;[8] poet Janna, son of Samanōbāṇa a poet of the time of Narasiṁha I. Janna won fame as a poet after writing the ಯಶೋಧರಚರಿತೆ, ಅನಂತನಾಥಪುರಾಣ and obtained the title *Kavichakravarti* from Ballāḷa.[9]

Literature was maintained at a high standard even in the reign of Narasimha II. Janna who was the poet laureate, ಕವಿಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ, in the court of Ballāḷa II continued to hold that honour in the time of Narasiṁha. Inscriptions of the year A. D. 1234 reveal names of three other important poets in Narasiṁha's kingdom. Somanatha-paṇḍita styles himself "ಸುಕವಿಕಂಠಾಭರಣ" (a necklet for the throat of good poets). This title and the nature of his writings bespeak his proficiency in Kannada poetry.[10] Chidānada Kāvi was a favourite poet under the patronage of minister Addayada Harihara.[11] The other poet of importance was Daśakīrtidēvar.[12]

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 119.

[2] *Ibid.*, Ac, 71.

[3] Rice, *Kanarese Literature*, p. 32.

[4] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 22, 90.

[5] Narasimhachar, *Kannada Kavi Charite*, I, p. 217.

[6] Rice, *Mysore Inscripitions*, p. 107; *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 105.

[7] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 1[illegible]8.

[8] Narasimhachar, *Kannada Kavi Charite*, I, p. 217.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 328.

[10] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 123.

[11] *E. C.*, III, Md, 121, 122.

[12] *E. C.*, VII, Ci, 52.

Among the later kings Sōmēśvara effected the revival of learning by the creation of new agrahāras. In A. D. 1240 he made an agrahara for the God Gangēśvara in Nīrguṇḍa,[1] while in A. D. 1253 after the death of his queen Sōmala-dēv, he created an agrahara in the Kalukani-nāḍ-Viṣaya.[2] In A. D. 1254 one Ammeya-Nāyaka obtained donations from the king and established an agrahāra of twenty shares.[3]

Among the poets Mallikārjuna seems to have been the most famous in the time of Sōmēśvara. He was a Jaina by religion. His poem "ಸೂಕ್ತಿಸುಧಾರ್ಣವ" which has come down to us reveals the poet's talent. One of the stanzas informs us that Sōmēśvara was pleased with the poem.[4]

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[1] *E. C.*, XI, Hk, 121.

[2] *E. C.*, IX, Bn, 6.

[3] *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 13.

[4] Narasimhachar, *Kannada Kavi Charite*, I, p. 369.

CHAPTER XVII

Features of Religious Life

Though it is not intended in this thesis to enter into the philosophic aspect of religions in Hoysaḷa times yet the fact that that period witnessed some of the greatest religions upheavels in the South Indian history makes it necessary to obtain a glimpse of the religious activities of kings and courtiers and their reactions to reformations that took place in their country. Prior to the reign of Vishṇuvardhana the Hoysaḷa kings had always professed the Jaina faith though they were tolerant towards other religions. Ballāḷa I was even known to have specially favoured Śaivism[1]. It was Vishṇuvardhana, however, who for the first time discarded the ancient faith of the Hoysaḷa dynasty. Jainism had been flourishing long before the Hoysaḷa period under the patronage of the Gangas and Chalukyas and had become the national religion of the South Indian kingdoms as testified by the old Basadies at Śrāvaṇa Belgoḷa, Kolār, Kopal and other places in Gangavāḍi. Jainism had been steadily increasing in prosperity, but the conversion of Vishṇuvardhana in about A. D. 1116 rendered a death-blow to it and from that time it began its decay. But that was not the only cause. The internal decay of religion was more instrumental in precipetating its downfall. Material prosperity in a religious body invariably brings callousness to devotion and corruption of discipline. According to Mr. Shrikantaya "Biṭṭideva resented the growing insolence of the Jains." "He was convinced of the venality of the Jain *gurus* and the inaptitude of the Jain tenets to the growing condition of his day," and "Rāmānuja's arguments were convincing and held their ground in public disputation against the Jain tenets"[1]. The Jains were easily defeated in dispute by Rāmānuja and his desciples.[2] This of course does not prove the superiority of one religion over the other but the ignorance of the Jains of their own doctrines. In A. D. 1118 a Jain *Basadi* was built, and none but those who belonged to the Postaka Gacha of the Deśīya Gana of the Mūla Saṇgha had a right in the lands granted for it.[3] In about A. D. 1118 there was a Jain guru, Vinayandi-yati about whom "a report was spread abroad in the Nāḍs, that in the towns he went among the women devotees"[4]. These evidences, though few, throw much light on the insolence and corruption of the Jain priests and hence the people were too ready to embrace the new religion.

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[1] *Supra.*, pp. 42 and 66.

We have seen that the Hoysaḷa kings from the early times were devout Jains, but they, like most of the Hindu kings of the South, showed toleration to other creeds. Vishṇuvardhana like Ballāḷa I must have had friendly feelings towards other religions since he had given large number of grants to Śaiva institutions. It is not known definitely in what year Vishṇuvardhana was converted. The Jain inscriptions are absolutely silent about it. The Vaishṇava inscriptions however have written glowing praises of the king and his devotion to the Hindu gods. In A. D. 1117 "having pious faith" he set up the gods Chenna

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[1] *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 307.
[2] *Buchanan's travels.* II, p. 81.
[3] *M. A. R.*, 1914-15, p. 52.
[4] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, 19.

Keśava, Laxmi Nārāyaṇa and Vijaya Nārāyaṇa and gave grants lavishly for the support of Vaishṇavas and Brahmins[1]. The same year he set up the God Kirtinārāyana at Talakāḍ[2]. The Keśava temple at Beḷūr which was then called the Vijayanārāyaṇa temple, stands out to the present day as a mighty example of Hoysaḷa architecture. The big staff of that temple including the Vaishṇava Brahmans, the dancing girls, the putters on of the vestments, the learned men, the garland makers, the lighters of lamps[3], the committee of 88 Brahmins for the administration of the temple[4], all these bespeak the royal favour.

Together with the erection of the Vijaya Nārāyaṇa god at Belur he had set up four others at Taḷakād Melkoṭe, Tonnūr (the seat of Rāmānuja) and Gadag[5]. The same year he had performed the *Tulāpuruṣah*, the *Hiraṇyagarbha* and the *Aśvamedha*, the religious performances of a great Hindu king. All these are sure but indirect evidences to show that Vishnuvardhana was converted before A. D. 1117. The Sthaḷapurāṇa at Śrāvaṇa Beḷgola also gives the same date[6], after which he changed his name to Vishṇuvardhana from his original Biṭṭi Dēva.

The account of Vishṇuvardhana's conversion and his cruel treatment of the Jains portray a wrong picture of the king. The Sthala Purāṇa at Srāvaṇa Belgoḷa records the following story: "In Śaka year 1039, Durmukhi, Beṭṭavardhana under the taunts of his favourite concubine, and the arguments of Rāmānujācharyā received Taptamudrā (mark of the religion) and thus became a convert to the Vaishṇava religion. He then changed his name to Vishṇuvardhana and with a bitter hatred against this (Jaina) religion, discontinued or abolished all the inams, destroyed

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[1] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 265.
[2] *M. A. R.*, 1911-12.
[3] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 58.
[4] Narasinhachar., *Kesava temple at Belur*, p. 18.
[5] Ibid. P. 2 and *I. A.*, II, p. 133.
[6] *I. A.*, II, p. 131.

720 Basti temples and set up Pañcha Nārāyaṇa etc. ... He built the tank at Tondamirū from the stones of the destroyed Basti temples and called it Tirumala Sāgara." The story goes on to say that unable to bear his sin the earth opened and all the villages at Angaru in Belur Taluk were swallowed up. The king and his priests tried their best to repair it and offered sacrifices, but without avail. At last they approached the Jain guru Subhāchandrāchārya and promised to restore all Jain grants if he were to repair the damages of earth-quake. The guru ordered for 108 white pumpkins, filled them with *mantrams,* and threw one each day in the gap of the earth until it was filled. The Jain grants were then restored and Śāsanas were raised proclaiming a compromise between the Jains and Vaishṇavas[1]. It is a fact that the Jain temples were destroyed during that time. But it was the Chōḷa king that did it. Vishnuvardhnna on the other hand had helped Ganga Raja and others to restore the ruined basadis. After a lapse of time tradition has evidently mistaken the Chōḷa king for Vishṇuvardhana.

A second version is that the King's conversion was in some degree brought about by the insolence of his Jain guru who refused to take food in the palace, because the *Rāja* was mutilated having lost one of his fingers. The king resented this conduct of his priest and adopted the doctrines of Rāmanuja[2].

The Vaishṇavas narrate another story[3]. After his expulsion from the Chōḷa country Rāmānuja was propagating his doctrine in the Hoysaḷa country. During that time the Hoysaḷa king's daughter was possessed by Bhima Rācshasa. But the efforts of all the Jain priests to cure her failed and the king had to take her to Rāmānuja who speadily drove the devil out of the poor victim after sprinkling holy water on her. The king declared that he would become a Vaishṇava and he was accordingly initiated into the religious rites. Enraged at this news the Jains challenged Rāmanuja for a religious debate, but they were utterly defeated after a dispute for eighteen days which took place before the Court. Rāmānuja, having received many royal grants, pulled down the Jain basadis and built a great reservoir. He also caused the Jain priests who were defeated and also other Jains who remained obstinate to be ground in oil mills.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Cf. *Mackenzie's Collections*. Introd., p. 65.

[3] *Buchanan's Travels*, II, p. 68 and 81.

Almost all the scholars are of opinion that the oil mill tragedy is fugerative and not real. Mr. Smith is of opinion that the story is certainly untrue and is only a picturesque version of the defeat of Jain disputants in argument [1]. Mr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar is also of the same opinion and says that it is "nothing more nor less than a boastful assertion of triumphant success on the part of the Vaishṇavas of a succeeding generation" [2]. The oil mill incident was a favourite embellishment in handing down the accounts of disputations. We hear of a parallel incident in an inscription of 1129 at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa when the great Jain scholar Akaḷanka had defeated the Budhists. King Himasītala of Kanchi ordered that the Budhists should be ground in oil mills, but Akaḷanka intervened and had them banished to Ceylon [3].

All the legends signify the intolerance of Vishṇuvardhana but they are absolutely in contravention with the evidence gathered from inscriptions. Vishnuvardhana's great fervour for Vaishnava religion, as evidenced by the number of temples and grants he had caused to be made, may indicate his apathy towards other religions, and strengthen the suspicion that one of the reasons for his storming on the hill tribes, the Changāḷvas and the Kongāḷvas, was that they were devout Jains. But in his own kingdom he was very tolerant, patronising all the religions, Jainism, Vaishṇavism and Śaivism. It was a stroke of policy as well as a sign of his broad-mindedness. The first two decades of the twelfth century were a period of consolidation. It was a preparation for his mighty military expeditions. Religious intolerance at this time would have greatly handicapped his progress. Almost all his feudatories and generals, such as Ganga Rāja, Mariyane, Bhārata, Punisamaya and Boppaṇa, and even his crowned queen Sāntaḷa-devi were ardent patriots of Jainism, and they would have certainly obstructed the king's inimical designs. On the contrary his patronage over all these generals and their pious works, as we have already seen, and his encouragement of Ganga Rāja for the renovation of the ruined Jain temples of Gangavāḍi, certainly prove his devotion for the religion of his fore-fathers.

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[1] V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 203.

[2] S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 259.

[3] *Ibid.*, E. C., II, 67 (54).

The great feudatories of the king ably supported their religion, which was fast tottering to its grave, and thanks to their efforts the twelfth century marks the zenith as well as the beginning the fall of Jainism. The glorious success of their opposing religions had brought them to the realisation of their own spiritual deficiency, and they once again fell back to their pious deeds creating great saints like Sāntaḷa-dēvi's mother, who found this world too sinful and starved themselves to death.

Though the immediate cause of Vishṇuvardhana's conversion is not known yet one would be led suppose that he was led to this important step on account of perversion of Jains, the novelty of Vaishnavism, the convenience of its symbolism and formula for the show and pomp characteristic of a great Hindu king and his personal friendship of Rāmanuja whom he had saved from the clutches of Choḷa Saivites. Inspite of his partiality for his new faith he continued to be friendly with the followers of other creeds in his kingdom. He had given away his whole kingdom in charity and had entered Uchchangi to have a kingdom of his own[1].

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[1] *E. I.*, VI, p. 91.

Further evidence can be obtained from the inscriptions. He had, as we know, given many grants to his generals for Jain edifices even in A. D. 1117, the time of his conversion. In A. D. 1128 he gave a grant to a Śaiva temple at Yadavapura[1] or Melkote, the seat of Rāmanuja though the Śaivas were, bitter enemies of Vaishṇavism. In A. D. 1140 he made a grant to a Śaiva temple in memory of his father[2]. In A. D. 1138 he personally gave a grant to the Jain guru Madhuchandra[3]. An inscription of A. D. 1135 tells us that he was a receiver of a boon from the goddess Vasanthika (the Jain goddess of Sosevūr) as well as a worshipper of the feet of Mukunda[4]. In A. D. 1133, as stated before he had devoutly received the consecrated food from Pārsvanātha Basadi. We could thus cite a large number of grants given by him to Vaishṇavas, Jains, and Śaivas, which evidently proves his tolerant desposition.

We should not, however, be carried away by the idea that there was harmony of religion in his kingdom. The fierce struggle between the Śaivas and Vaishṇavas had made itself felt even in the Hoysaḷa territory. In A. D. 1120 a rule was passed in the Hoysaḷésvara temple at Haḷebīḍ that the dancing girls should not worship in the Vaishṇava temples, and that men who consorted with girls who disobeyed this rule should be made outcasts[5], while the Jains of Tuḷuva effected a check on Brahminism as a revulsion of feeling after Vishṇuvardhana's conversion[6].

Rāmānuja the great teacher of Vaishṇavism, who converted Vishṇuvardhana and brought about sweeping changes of religion in the whole of Southern India, was born in A. D. 1017, at Tirupati.[7] Having received the ordinary education in childhood, he proceeded to Conjeevaram for the study of Vedānta under Yādava-prakāsa. There he attained such wisdom that he incurred the displeasure and hostility of his teacher and had to fly from there for the safety of his life. Later he became a house-holder, and then separating from his wife he became a Sanyāsi, attracting a large number of disciples. Then he succeeded to the seat of Śrīrangam. Here he carried on administration for 60 years, and upheld Vaishnavism in direct opposition to the teachings of Śankarāharya and went on tour to propagate his doctrine. He soon fell out with the Chōla King Adhirājēndra who can be identified with Vīra Rājendra, a staunch Śaiva, and whose persecution of the Vaishṇavas drove the teacher to seek shelter in the country of the Hoysaḷas. The growing unpopularity of Rāmānuja in the Chōḷa country is ascribed by the Saivites; to his pride, love of power, for his acceptance of low caste people in his religion and for his establishment of the Veda in Tamil as a holy book. During the reign of the next king Kulōtunga, who was favourable to the Vaishṇavas, Rāmanuja returned to his native place. It is not to be supposed that Ramanuja was the founder of Vaishṇavism. That creed had existed long before. But there was need for formulating the creed and for placing it under a regularly organised religious body.[1]

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[1] *E. C.*, III, My, 16.

[2] *E. C.*, IX, Nl, 84.

[3] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 333.

[4] *E. C.*, IV, Ng, (3).

[5] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 240.

[6] Madras District Manual, *South Kanara*, p. 55.

[7] S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 195 where a detailed history is given.

The exile was cordially welcomed by Vishṇuvardhana and was established at Yādavapura or Tonnūr where he stayed for fourteen years[2]. Yādavapura then became the seat of Vaishṇavas under the royal patronage, the king himself having sometimes resided there. It is interesting to note, however, that none of the Hoysaḷa inscriptions mention the name of Rāmānuja except one inscription of

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[1] *Ibid.* V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 203.
I. A. XL, p. 135.
Ibid. XIII, p. 252.

[2] *Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer*, II, p. 329.

A. D. 1259 which mentions the sacred earth found by Emberumānūr (*i. e.* Rāmānuja) at Melukote[1].

The people, as is usual in Hindu kingdoms were extremely religious and even the poorest of them considered it a great act of charity to maintain a temple with donations. In A. D. 1139 the company of tailors from Dōrasamudra made a grant to the Kusumēśvara temple[2], by collection of small tithes on bundles of women's clothes and on balls of thread. In A. D. 1131 all the servants of the Tuppadabāgal (ghee-gate) of the queen of Ballāḷa I made a grant to the god Baḷḷēśvara[3]. In A. D. 1136 the jeweller citizens of the three cities Dōrasamudra, Beḷūr and Vishṇusamudra joined together and paid a grant to the god Mānikēśvara[4]. Once two dancing girls of Kolutūr had caused a temple to be built[5].

He who made a gift was considered to gain *swarga*, but he who maintained it would obtain final beatitude[6]. If any one usurped a gift made to a temple he incurred the sin of killing a Brahman or a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges. The Brahmin, a minister of God, was respected by the rich and poor alike, for there was no sin as great as killing a Brahmin. A guru was so much venerated that even kings and nobles washed his feet when offering a gift. The warrior was given a glorious after-life if he was killed in battle. A vīragal generally ended thus: "who wins in fight gains spoils; who falls, enjoys the celestial nymphs, what need he than care for death in war, who for a moment seeks the close encounter". Thus we see that the people always centred their hopes in the world to come.

Except for occasional outbursts of fanaticism, the people were normally tolerant towards other religions, and even paid homage to alien gods when they believed they had received favours from them. Thus Vishṇuvardhana received the holy food of the Jainas after the consecration of the Pārśvanātha Basadi and Narasiṁha I paid homage to the Gommaṭa at Beḷgoḷa when returning from the north[1]. The title "protector of the four creeds" was an expression of praise, and sometimes even the common people owned it[2].

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[1] *E. C.*, III, Sr, 80.
[2] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 236.
[3] *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 87.
[4] *Ibid.*, Bl, 117.
[5] *Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer*, V. II, p. 317.
[6] Rise, *Mysore Inscriptions*, Introd., 23.

The period during which Narasiṁha I was ruling is noted for the sudden evolution of the Lingāyat religion in the Kalachūrya territory, and it was largely responsible for the outbreak of civil wars in that country, finally leading to its own destruction. The Lingāyats, technically called the Vīra Śaivas "brave, fierce or strict Śaivas", are distinguished from the ordinary Śaivas by the practice of carrying about with them miniature *liṅga* usually in a silver box suspended from the neck and hanging about the waist. The chief characteristics of their faith and practices are: adoration of the *liṅga* and of Śiva's bull Nandi, hostility to Brāhman, disbelief in the transmigration of the soul, contempt for child-marriage, and approval and habitual practice of the remarriage of widows. The origin and establishment of this new sect is enveloped as usual in supernatural phenomena; and hence there are no reasons for attributing historical accuracy to these traditions. The founder of the sect was Basava, the nephew of Balladēva, who was the prime-minister of the Kalachūrya Bijjaḷa. Basava, described in the Lingāyat scriptures as the incarnation of Śiva's bull, Nandi, succeeded his uncle as the prime-minister, a position which gave him ample advantages for the propagation of his new creed. In course of time the king is said to have tortured some Lingāyat saints. Basava protested against this injustice, left Kalyāṇa, and deputed his faithful disciple to assasinate the king.

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[1] *EC.*, II,. 345 (137).

[2] Cf. *E. C.*, II, Tk, 38.

He escaped to "Kūḍali-Sangamēśvara" where he was absorbed into the god (died), while his nephew, Channa-basava, another great Lingāyat patriot fled to Konkaṇa and took refuge in a cave. The Jainas, however, give a contemptuous account of the hero. They attribute his influence with the king to the fact that he had a very beautiful sister whom the king took as a concubine. Basava turned a traitor and poisoned the king. His treachery was revealed by the dying king to his son, with the injunction that he should be avenged, and accordingly his followers were persecuted while Basava himself was drowned in a well. But his nephew Channa-basava carried on the work of propagation[1]. The new religion gained much popularity, and tradition says that within sixty years of Basava's death (A. D. 1168-1228) it was embraced from Uḷavi near Goa to Sholapur, and from Bāḷehaḷḷi or Bāḷehonnūr to Śiva Ganga[2]. This is testified by an epigraph of the period found in Nelamangala Taluk which states that 12,000 Oḍeyars or Lingāyat priests were to be fed in the temple of Gangādhara (on the Śivaganga hill)[3]. The Lingāyat religion found access in the Hoysaḷa territory, but apparently there was no opposition.

The king, Narasiṁha I, was himself very tolerant in his dealings with the different creeds. In A. D. 1159 he had come to Śrāvaṇa Belgoḷa to pay homage to Gommaṭeśvara, and when he was residing there he bestowed grants to the Jaina temple built by minister Huḷḷa[4]. In A. D. 1164 he made grants to a *basadi* newly erected in Sosavūr[5]. The Jaina religion had lost its prominence by this time, but the followers of that faith had developed a policy of compromising their religious precepts with those of others.

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[1] This description and the traditions regarding the origin of the Lingayat religion are taken from Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, pp. 477-481.

[2] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer*, I, p. 387.

[3] *E. C.*, IX, Nl, 88.

[4] *E. C.*, II, 349.

[5] *E. C.*, VI, 16.

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Thus a Jaina inscription of A.D. 1151 begins with obeisance "to the universal spirit Jina, who is Śiva, Dhāiri (Brahma), Sugāta (Buddha), and Vishṇu"[1]. It was also very common among the Jaina philanthrophists to call themselves the upholders of all the four creeds.

Narasiṁha's leanings were towards Vaishṇavism. In A. D. 1169 he paid a visit to the God Vīra-Nārāyaṇa of Belahur and performed the "*Pavitrārōpaṇa*" (or the ceremony of putting a silken garland round the god's neck). In the year A. D. 1162 he combined the two villages, Togaravāḍi and Bhuvanahaḷḷi into an *agrahāra* named Dharmapura and granted it for the maintenance of the Kēśava temple in the presence of his councillors[2].

The time of Ballāḷa II shows peace and harmony among the people of different religions. The great sectarian movement of the Lingāyats had nearly been settled and become an organised religion. It was largely adopted by the mercantile class which was known as Vīra-Bananju-Dharma[3]. The Jainas who had suffered great hardships during the time of Rāmanātha were now living in perfect harmony with the Brāhmans[4]. In an endeavour to accommodate themselves to the age the Jainas continued to show tolerance towards other faiths which had been begun during the previous reign. The contemporary Jaina chieftains such as the Huliyera chiefs, styled themselves as the supporters of all the four creeds, Maheśvara, Jaina, Vaishṇava and Bauddha. In A. D. 1180 a Jaina officer Hoysaḷa-Goydi-Śeṭṭi "one day, hearing the Śiva dharma" recited made a grant to god Siddheśvara at Eḍeḍore[5].

There was also great toleration between the Vaishṇavas and the Śaivas. A poet of the time humorously describes the union of Hari and Hara: "Vishṇu, who from the bright rays of Siri's lotus eyes falling on him, looks like Īśa, and Īśa, who from Girijā's glances of favour falling on him looks like Vishṇu; so that the devotion of their followers is confused between them—the gods Hari and Hara may they ever protect us"[1]. In A. D. 1223 a temple for the god Harihara was built on the Tungabhadrā[2].

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[1] *E. C.*, XII, Tm, 9.

[2] *E. C.*, IV, Hs, 137.

[3] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 120, 123.

[4] Cf. *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 225.

[5] *E. C.*, VII, Sh, 40.

A few years later Madhvāchārya was to establish a new creed in Tuḷuva which considers *Jīvātmā* or the principle of life as distinct from *Paramātmā* or the Supreme Being[3]. In Haḷḷavūr, which had been the capital of the Sindas prior to its conquest by Ballāḷa, there was strange mixture of serpent worship, and faith in Vishṇu and Śiva[4]. In A. D. 1193 a great serpent sacrifice was performed in the presence of the god Harihara on the bank of the Tungabhadrā, in which "two-thousand Brāhmans of many *Gōtras*" took part[5]. In A. D. 1196 a *vīragal* was erected in honour of a hero who had died in an attempt to rescue women from the hands of robbers, and provisions were made for the offering of food and flowers to the *vīragal*[6]. Thus within the bounds of the Hoysaḷa empire, all religions were tolerated, the primitive serpent worship, the idol worship, such as the devotion to a *vīragal*, the ancient Jaina faith, the complex theology of Rāmanātha and Madhvāchārya, and the reformation of the Lingāyats.

King Ballāḷa belonged to the Śaiva faith, though his generosity was extended to all religions. Of the many grants made by him to the Śiva temples were those to god Durgeśvara at Padināḍu and to god Mārkaṇḍeśvara on the banks of the Tungabhadrā in the year A. D. 1180[7], to god Ballēśvara of Kāḍuviṭṭi tank in A. D. 1183[8]; a further grant to god Ballēśvara at Talakāḍu which had formerly been patronised by the elder Ballāḷa (Ballāḷa I)[1], to the priest of the Kaḷāmukhi line for Śaiva worship in A. D. 1192, to god Trikūṭeśvara at Gaddak in A. D. 1193[2]. In A. D. 1204 the Nāḷ-prabhu and all the gauḍas of Hiri-Begūr "showed the *tīrtha*" of the god Rāmeśvara to Ballāḷa and obtained from him a grant[3]. His patronage of the Śaiva faith obtained for him the name "Śiva Ballāḷa[4].

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[1] *E. C.*, VI, Tk, 45.

[2] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer*, I, 382.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 383.

[4] Cf. *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 45.

[5] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 183.

[6] *M. A. R.*, 1926, p. 58.

[7] *E. C.*, IV, Ch, 96; *E. C.*, VI, Cm, 77.

[8] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 102b.

Ballāḷa's generosity towards the Vaishṇavas is shown through many of his grants. For instance in A. D. 1175 he had a pond made for the god Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa at Beḷūr[5]; he erected a *Koṭṭāra* for the god Vijaya Nārāyaṇa at Beḷūr for cows and Brāhmans[6]; he also added further grants to Vishṇuvardhana's temple of Chenna Kēśava for the improvement of the building[7]. In a Gaḍag inscription he is said to be an ardent worshipper of Vishṇu and to have acquired his kingdom by worshipping Vajrēśvara. Dr. Lüders identifies Vajrēśvara with Vishṇu and suggests that he was a follower of Vaishṇava faith[8]. A Bēlūr inscription also describes Ballāḷa as "delighting in the nectar which issued from the lotus feet of the god Keśava;" also being a favourite of Vijayanārāyaṇa he gained the empire of the South"[9].

Ballāḷa's grants to the Jaina institutions were few; nevertheless they signify his cosmopolitan spirit. A Jaina inscription describes the line of *gurus* of the Hoysaḷa *Jinālaya* at Dōrasamudra as the "*guru-kula*" of Ballāḷ[10]a. In A. D. 1174 he made a grant to the *basadi* of Heragu[11]. In A. D. 1192 Ballāḷadēva "obtainer of boons from Vasantikā-dēvi" offered generous donations to the newly erected temple of Abhinava Śāntinātha-dēva at Dōrasamudra[1].

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[1] *E. C.*, III, Ml, 83.

[2] *I. A.* II, 303.

[3] *E. C.*, VII, Hl, 7.

[4] *McKenzie Collections*, Introd., p. 66.

[5] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 2.

[6] *Ibid.*, Bl, 20.

[7] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 267.

[8] *E. I.*, VI, p. 92.

[9] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 266.

[10] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 1.

[11] *E. C.*, V, Hn, 58.

The same spirit of compromise as at the time of Ballāḷa continued during the reign of Narasiṁha II and there was much religious toleration between the Śaivas and the Vaishṇavas, as symbolised by the god Hari-hara. This tolerance was shown at its best at Kudalore of Harihara-pura at the junction of Haridrā with the Tungabhadrā where Polāḷva Daṇṇāyaka built the famous Harihara temple. In connection with the building of this temple the incarnation is thus explained: "Some saying there was no god on earth but Hari, and some saying there was no god on earth but Hara, to remove their doubts the Hari-hara *murti* was revealed in Kuddalore in a single form, which form of glory may it protect us. "The Śiva that was, obtained the form of Vishṇu, Vishṇu obtained the mighty and celebrated form of Śiva, in order that the saying of the *vēda* might be established"[2]. While at another place Hari-hara is called "the god of all the chief gods, reconciler of disputes between the Śaivas and the Vaishṇavas"[3].

Narasiṁha II himself was of Vaishṇavite tendency. In A. D. 1223 he and the *rāja-guru* Āditya-Bhaṭṭayyanga made grants to the god Himagiri-Lakshmī-Narasiṁha (*i. e.* Vishṇu and his wife Lakshmī) at Vishṇusamudra[4]. But he patronised the Śaivas also; thus in A. D. 1222 he made grants to God Balleśvara and in A. D. 1230 he offered land, as a *dēvadāna*, to the Śaiva Brāhmins[5].

Sōmēśwara, Narasiṁha's son was definitely a śaivite. An interesting story is told to show why Sōmēśwara was partial towards the Saiva faith. He, it would appear, was driven by an attack of leprosy to retire to the hill called Puṣpagiri in the neighbourhood of Dōrasamudra, where he received advice from the oracle to erect temples to Śiva as a means of cure. This might have been the cause for the embellishment of the city with splendid temples.[1] That he was actually suffering from a disease can be conjectured from two inscriptions in the Salem district dated in the fifteenth and seventeenth years of Sōmēśvara's reign. They record gifts of land to temples by Sōmaya daṇṇāyaka and by the residents of the seventy-nine districts for the health of the king[2]. It can be inferred from the evidence of several inscriptions, that Sōmēśvara was of a Śaivite turn of mind. For example, in A. D. 1253, he set up the gods Vallāḷīśvara, Padumalīśvara, Vīra-Nāraśingīśvara, and Sōmalīśvara, in the Jambukēśwara temple at Kaṇṇanūr in memory of his grandfather, grandmother, father and wife[3].

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1926, p. 51.
[2] Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 30.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 41.
[4] *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 88.
[5] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 84; *E. C.*, X, Ct, 46.

But the Vaiṣṇva temples were badly neglected by him in the island. It was only Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya who renovated the Vaiṣṇva temples. An inscription of his, refers to Sōmēśvara as "the moon of the Karnāṭa who had reduced this lotus pond of Srīranga into a pitiable state"[4] apparently indicating his apathy towards Vaiṣṇvism.

Just previous to his death he seems to have paid his respects to the Jaina gods since he had established his triple umbrella in a Jaina *basadi*, Vijaya Tīrthādhināṭha, inviting his subjects to pay homage to it.[5]

The two sons of Sōmēśvara, Narashimha III and Padmanātha, however followed two different faiths. While the former showed an inclination towards Jainism the latter and his son Viśvanātha supported Śaivism and Vaishṇavism.[6]

Thus the people of the Hoysaḷa Empire followed different creeds, and all those creeds at one time or other flourished under the patronage of the Hoysala kings.

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[1] Rice, *Mysore & Coorg Gazetteer*, II, p. 318.

[2] Madras Inscriptions, II, p. 1210.

[3] *E. I.*, III, p. 8.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[5] *E. C.*, V, Bl. 125.

[6] *Supra.*, pp. 205 and 217.

CHAPTER XVIII

Hoysala Architecture

The increasing prosperity of the Hoysaḷa kingdom together with its contact with the great powers like the Kadambas and the Chālukyas brought about the birth of an architecture characteristic of the Hoysaḷas. This peculiar style has been called "Chālukyan" by Fergusson and many of the subsequent historians. If this were merely an incorrect title from a technical point of view, one would retain it for the reason that it has been in usage; but the title is quite untrue since the Chālukyan style in the strict sense of the term is quite different from the Hoysaḷa style. The correct nomenclature was first suggested by Rev. Tabard, President of the Mythic Society, and taken up by the head of the Mysore Archæological Department.[3] The old Kadamba and Chālukya temples that preceded those of the Hoysaḷas are always square or quadrangular in shape. That of the Hoysaḷas grew little by little into a style of star-like form. The Hoysaḷa temples generally consist of two or three shrines, and are accordingly called double or treble. The Lakṣmidēvi temple at

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[1] Rice, *Mysore & Coorg Gazetteer*, II, p. 329.
[2] *E. C.*, III, Sr. 80.
[3] *Q. J. M. S.*, VIII, p. 194.

Doḍḍa Gaddavaḷḷi built at the time of Viṣṇuvardhana is a typical example of Hoysaḷa architecture.[1]

A characteristic feature of the Hoysaḷa architeture is the deep and ornate carving of the building from the base to the top. This rich sculpture becomes more and more prominent in the later temples, for example the Keśava temple at Somanāthpur built during the reign of Narasiṁha III.

The influence of the Kadamba style on the Hoysaḷa architects was very great. Of late Rev. H. Heras has suggested that the Triparvata city mentioned in the Kadamba inscriptions as one of their capitals is none other than Dōrasamudra itself for the reasons (1) that the latter city consists of three hills, the Bhairavana-guḍḍa, the Puṣpagiri-guḍḍa and the Beṇṇe-guḍḍa, (2) that a set of copper plates were found in the neighbourhood belonging to Kriṣṇavarma II of the early Kadamba dynasty,[2] and (3) that " dakṣiṇapaṭṭaṇa " referring to Tripaśvata, indicates a city South of Banavāsi as Dōrasamudra is. Thus the ancient Jaina edifices found in the site of Dōrasamudra were perhaps a model to the pioneers of Hoysaḷa architecture.[3]

Another striking evidence of the Hoysaḷa Kadamba union in style is the symbol of the tiger. To one who critically observes the Hoysaḷa tiger, it has the same appearance as the Kadamba lion, "a roaring beast with flowing mane and large protruding eyes," so often found in Kadamba coins and seals. This close resemblance of the symbol is first seen in the Kadamba and the Hoysaḷa temples of the time of Viṣṇuvardhana. In the Siddheśvara temple at Hāveri, the decorative motif of the building is Hoysaḷa but the perforated screen situated close to the main door is characteristically Kadamba. Here for the first time the lion is attacked by Saḷa. It may be supposed that the Hoysaḷas took up the model of the lion from the Kadambas and added Saḷa to it. Similarly the Tārakeśvara temple at Hāngal, purely Hoysaḷa in style, perhaps built by Viṣṇuvardhana after his conquest of Hāngal in A. D. 1131, has the Hoysaḷa tiger and Saḷa in front of the *gōpuram,* but it will be seen that though the figure of Saḷa is mutilated the tiger (or lion) is intact; one could presume that this mutilation was done by the Kadambas after they had reconquered Hāngal during the reign of Narasiṁha I. Without the figure of Saḷa, the Hoysaḷa crest would be their own.

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[1] Narasimhachar, *Lakshmidevi temple.*

[2] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 121.

[3] Cf. *Bengal Past & Present*, XXXVIII, 1929, pp. 156-168.

Again the Kīrtimukha in the Hoysaḷa temples was borrowed from the Kadamba architects who in turn had it from the Gaṅga-Pallavas.

The history of Hoysaḷa architecture can be said to have begun with the reign of Vishṇuvardhana. His reign is notable for the large number of temples built in the new style; but the most famous was the Keśava temple at Belūr, built in A. D. 1117 to commemorate the conversion of the king. As described by Mr. Narasimhachar it is "situated in a court measuring 443′ 6″ by 396′ and enclosed by a high wall, surrounded by several temples, minor shrines, *maṇṭapas* or halls and subsidiary buildings." The temple itself is "178′ by 156′ and stands on a terrace three feet high," and "consists of a *garbha-gṛha* or adytum, a *sukhanāsi* or vestibule, and a *navaraṅga* or central hall[1]." The whole temple serves as a back-ground for the fanciful engravings of the sculpture. Mr. Fergusson says that "it is not, however, either to the dimensions, or the disposition of the plan, that this temple owes its pre-eminence among others of its class, but to the marvellous elaboration and beauty of its detail." Again he says in connection with the engravings of the porch, "The amount of labour indeed, which each facet of this porch displays is such as, I believe, never was bestowed on any surface of equal extent in any building in the world[2]."

The one peculiar custom of the architects of the

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[1] Narasimhachar, *Kesava temple at Belur,* p. 3.

[2] Fergusson, *History of Indian & Eastern Architecture,* I. p. 439, 440.

Hoysaḷa times was to engrave their names; a thing perhaps unknown among other dynasties of India. They were greatly patronised by the ruling monarchs and chiefs, and they formed a separate class by themselves transferring their lore to posterity.

Mr. Narasimhachār gives a very interesting collection of the nature, titles and other descriptions of the sculptors of the Kēśava temple at Belur. Some of the titles run as follows: "smiter of the crowd of titled sculptors," "champion over rival sculptors," "a tiger among sculptors," "confounder of sculptors," "a thunderbolt to the mountains, rival titled sculptors," "a lion to the elephants, titled sculptors," "a pair of large scissors to the necks of titled sculptors[1]." It is evident that they rivalled each other in the perfection of their art.

The most famous of the architects was Jakkaṇāchāri, who has now become a legendary hero. The legend is narrated by Mr. Rice who says that Jakkaṇāchāri hailed from the village of Kridapura (modern Kaidaḷa in Tumkūr District) which he left, and entering service at various Courts produced great works which even to this day are famous. When he was building the Keśava temple at Belūr his son who was not aware that Jakkanāchāri was his father, pointed out a flaw in the work. Mortified at his own defect Jakkaṇāchāri cut off his right-hand. "Subsequently Jakkanāchāri was directed in a vision to dedicate a temple to the god Keśava in his native place. Thither he went and no sooner was the temple built than his hand was restored. In commemoration of this event the place has ever since been called *Kaidaḷa*, the restored hand[2]." Several such anecdotes are attributed to this great sculptor and his period of existence in this world, according to the legend, lasted over several centuries. It is said that in the sixteenth century he was invited to build the Jain Monoliths at Veṇūr in South Kanara. There he fell out with his son as a result of which he committed suicide. His spirit is supposed to haunt the South Kanara District and is known by the epithet *Kallu-Kuṭṭi-Bhūta* (the ghost of the stone-mason). He holds the highest rank among the *Bhūtas* of the country and is very much dreaded by the village-folk.

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[1] Narasimhachar, *Kesava temple at Belur*, p. 12.

[2] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer*, II, 171, 152, D.

Temple building continued to be patronised during the reign of Narasiṁha I. Many temples of architectural importance belonging to this period are still existing. In A. D. 1163 was built the Chenna-keśava temple of Hullekere,[1] nine miles to the West of the Konehaḷḷi Railway Station. Though small it is a neat structure in the Hoysaḷa style. "The outer walls are not profusely sculptured, nor are there horizontal rows of animals, etc., in succession, as in the temples of Haḷebīḍ, Basaral, Nuggihaḷḷi, etc. but instead there are fine figures of Viṣṇu alternating with well executed turrets and pilasters".[2]

The Īśvara temple at Anekoṇḍa near Dāvaṇagere is another edifice of the period. At present it has two cells, but originally it seems to have had three. It is a small neat temple of Hoysaḷa style with exuberant carvings[3].

But perhaps the greatest temple of the time of Narasiṁha is the Hoysaḷeśvara temple at Haḷebīḍ. The structure was probably begun before the year A. D. 1141.[4] It apparently underwent further improvements during the succeeding reigns and according to Fergusson the work was never finished, being stopped by the Muhammadan conquest in A. D. 1311.[5] Its dimensions are roughly 200 feet square, the temple itself being 160 by 122 feet. Fergusson is all admiration for this temple. He says that "the Hoysaḷeśvara temple, which, had it been completed, is one of the buildings on which the advocate of Hindu architecture would desire to take his stand." Further, he is of opinion that if it had been completed and "if carried out with the richness of detail exhibited in the Kedāreśvara, would have made up a whole which it would be difficult to rival anywhere."

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[1] *E. C.*, V, Ak, 172.

[2] *M. A. R.*, 1910-11, p. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 28.

[4] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 239.

[5] Fergusson, *History of Indian & Eastern Architecture*, I, p. 444.

"The material out of which this temple is erected is an indurated potstone of volcanic origin, found in the neighbourhood. This stone is said to be soft when first quarried and easily cut in that state, though hardening on exposure to the atmosphere. Even this, however, will not diminish our admiration of the amount of labour bestowed on the temple, for, from the number of parts still unfinished, it is evident that, like most others of its class, it was built in block and carved after the stone had become hard. As we now see it, the stone is of a pleasing creamy colour, and so close grained, as to take a polish like marble. The pillars of the great Nandi pavilion, which look as if they had been turned in a lathe are so polished as to exhibit what the natives call a double reflection, in other words to reflect light from each other. The enduring qualities of the stone seem to be unrivalled, for, though neglected and exposed to all the vicissitudes of a tropical climate for seven centuries, the minutest details are as clear and sharp as the day they were finished."[1]

The sculptors who engraved their names on the walls of the temples are as follows:— Ballaṇṇa, Bochaṇa, Chaṅga, Dēvoja, Harīsha of Odeyagiri, Harīsha of Tanaguṇḍūr, Kālidāsa, Keḍaroja, Ketana, Malealakī, Māchaṇṇa, Manibalaka, Masa son of Kaṇemoja, and Revoja. Out of these names only one corresponds with that of the Keśava temple at Belūr[2] built in A. D. 1117, and hence it is evident that the Hoysaḷeśvara temple was built about a generation later.

Architecture showed a steady progress during the reign of Ballāḷa II. In A. D. 1196 Amita-daṇṇāyaka built the Amṛteśvara temple near Tarikere;[1] but now it is almost completely in ruins. It is built in the Hoysaḷa style of architecture but "the elaborate ornamentation of the outer walls and some features of elevation are of a peculiar design."[2] The *mukha-maṇṭapa* is a grand artistic structure with verandahs all round. In the *navaraṅga* there are thirty beautiful ceilings each about three feet deep. The names of the sculptors are Malitama, Māle, Maiaya, Padumaṇṇa, Subujaga, Bāḷuga, Padumāya, and Malaṇa.[3]

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[1] Fergusson, *History of Indian & Eastern Architecture*, I, p. 445.

[2] *E. C.*, V, Introd., p. 33.

The Kedāreśvara temple at Haḷebīḍ built in A. D. 1219 by Ballāḷa's queen Abhinava Ketaḷa-dēvi was perhaps an imitation of the famous Dakṣiṇa Kedāreśvara temple at Belgāmi. In the next year it was endowed by Narasiṁha II and his mother Padmalā-dēvi[4]. Mr. Rice reports that a banyan tree which had taken root in the *vimāna* about 50 years ago was culpably allowed to grow unchecked till too late. The sculptured images on the outer wall were thrust out by the tree and portions of the temple were dismantled[5].

The edifice is considered to be one of the most beautiful specimens of Hindu architecture. Mr. Fergusson expresses his opinion as follows: "Its roof was conical and from the base to the summit was covered with sculptures of the very best class in Indian art, and these so arranged as not materially to interfere with the outlines of the building, while they imparted to it an amount of richness only to be found among specimens of Hindu art. If this little temple had been illustrated in anything like completeness, there was probably nothing in India which would have conveyed a better idea of what its architects were capable of accomplishing. But alas! this cannot be;

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[1] *E. C.*, VI, Tk, 45.

[2] *E. C.*, VI, Introd., p. 28.

[3] *M. A. R.*, 1911-12, p. 24 and 43.

[4] *E. C.* V, Bl, 115.

[5] *E. C.*, V, Introd., p. 33.

this gem of Indian architecture is no more; vegetation did its relentless work unchecked, and the pile is long ago a shapeless mass[1]."

Ballala embellished the Vijaya Nārāyaṇa temple which had been originally built during the time of Viṣṇuvardhana. In A. D. 1200 he "caused to be made of stone" the latticed window, secure door-frame, door-lintel, kitchen, ramparts, pavilion, and a pond named the Vāsudeva-tīrtha[2].

The Harihara temple built by Pōlāḷva Daṇṇāyaka in the reign of Narasiṁha II, is a good specimen of the Hoysaḷa style, and architecturally it is the most important building in the Chiṭṭaḷdroog District[3]. After Pōlāḷva, the temple was further embellished by erecting a *gōpura* of five storeys over the eastern gateway[4]. In A. D. 1280, Sāḷuva Tikkama, the general of the Sevuṇa king Mahādeva, completed a temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa within the precincts, in the name of his king and in commemoration of his successful expedition into the Hoysaḷa territories[5].

Although shorn of many of its ornamental features, the Harihara temple was fortunately not destroyed by the Muhammadan invaders of the 17th century. On the contrary they seem to have respected it as a work of art, and used the roof as a Mosque, making a small Saracenic doorway into the dome over the image of the god[6].

The artists of the reign of Narasiṁha II contributed their mite in furtherance of the Hoysaḷa architecture. The Harihara temple built by Pōlāḷva stands supreme among the edifices of the time, as described above. But the Īśvara temple at Arsikere is also a remarkable building in the Hoysaḷa style of architecture. It consists of a *garbha-gṛha*, an open *sukhanāsi*, an open *Navaraṅga*, a small rectangular inner porch, a square outer porch and a circular *mukha-maṇṭapa*. The ceilings of the *garbhagṛha*, *sukhanāsi* and the square porch about two feet deep, are flat with nine projecting circular panels containing Tāṇḍaveśvara in the centre and attendant musicians around. The *navaraṅga* has eight elegantly carved niches with *dvārapālakas* at the sides. All the beams of the temple are adorned with bead and scroll work. The *navaraṅga* pillars are well executed with bead work and sculptured on all the four faces at the bottom with the figures of Viṣṇu, Bhairava, Durgā and so forth[1]. The twenty-two labels below the Viṣṇu figures on the outer walls of the temple give the names of the various forms of Viṣṇu such as Keśava Nārāyaṇa, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Upendra, Adhōkṣaja etc., and are thus of some importance from an iconographical point of view[2].

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[1] Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, I, p. 442.
[2] *E. C.*, V, Bl, 72.
[3] *Supra.*, p. 182.
[4] *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 36.
[5] *Ibid.*, Dg, 59.
[6] *Ibid.*, Introd., p. 32.

The reign of Sōmeśvara is noted for the planned improvement of the city of Dōrasamudra. Mr. Rice supposes that in his reign were doubtless commenced the elaborately ornate temples which have given Haḷebīd, the old ruins of Dōrasamudra, so wide a celebrity.[3]

But no specific edifice of the time of Sōmeśwara has been marked by modern critics for special praise. The reign of his successor Narasiṁha III however is noted for the Sōmānathpur temple built in A. D. 1270 by the king's nephew Sōmeya daṇṇāyaka[4]. This temple which in Mr. Narasimhachar's opinion is perhaps the finest specimen of the so-called Chalukyan architecture is a triple temple and each cell consists of a *garbhagṛha* and a *sukhanāsi*. "The chief cell...once enshrined the image of Kēśava, after whom the temple was named; but the image is no longer in existence"[5]. The dimensions of the temple are very small, but it carries a complate effect of architectural perfection. Mr. Frgusson says "Its hight seems to be only about 30 ft. which if it stood in open, would be almost too small for architecural effect but in the centre of an enclosed court, and where there are no larger objects to contrast with it, it is sufficient, when judiciously treated, to produce a considerable impression of grondeur, and apparently does so in this instance"[1]. The impression carried by the elegance of outline and the elaboralion of detail is so pleasing that, to quote Mr. Rice "it has served more than once as a model for caskets in which complimentary public address have been presented"[2].

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[1] *M. A. R.*, 1918. p. 27.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 47.

[3] *Mysore & Coorg Gazetteer*, I, p. 218.

[4] *Supra.*, p. 208.

[5] Narasimhachar, *Kesava Temple at Somanathpur*, p. 3.

By the end of the thirteenth century, corresponding to the close of the reigns of Narasimha III and Rāmanātha, the development of Hoysaḷarchitecture, in the direction of temple-building on a grand scale, was disturbed by internecine wars followed by Mahomedan invasions. But it had developed enough to be ranked among the greatest schools of Indian architecture.

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[1] Fergusson, *History of Indian & Eastern Architecture*, I, p. 437,

[2] *E. C.* III, Intro., p. 35.

INDEX

ACHUGI II, SINDA: 91
ALA-UD-DIN KHALJI: 225-227, 229-230
ALUPAS: 80-81, 137-138, 181, 244; also see Tuluvas
AMANA, YADAVA; 201
ANANDA, CHANGALVA: 61
ANGADI: 10; also see Sosavur
BALLALA I: and Changalvas, 60, marriage of, 65, period of, 60, poets of the court of, 275, religion of, 66, religion of the time of, 291-294, and Santara Jagadeva, 62, titles of, 65, in Sosavur, 41
BALLALA II: agraharas of the time of, 277, architecture of the time of, 301-303, and Chalukyas, 150-152, and Changalvas, 135-136, crowning of, 135, death of, 160, feudatories of, 165-168, and Kadambas, 148-150, and Kalachuryas, 144-148, and Pandyas, 138-143, poets of the time of, 278, queens of, 162-164, rebellion of, against his father, 134, titles of, 157-158, and Yadavas, 153-156, 158-159
BALLALA III: acknowledgement of Ala-ud-din's supremacy by, 235, annexation of Viswanatha's kingdom by, 223-224, attack and defeat of, by Malik-Kafur, 229-234, attempt at Hindu unity by, 240-241, boundaries of the kingdom of, 229, death of, 250, defeat of, by Tughlak, 239, feudatories of, 240-243, granting of autonomy to feudatories by, 240-241, and Kadambas, 228, kinsmen of, 241-242, northern expeditions of, 228, political situation at the time of the coronation of, 222-223, and Ramanatha, 215, rebuilding of Dorasamundra by, 236, and rebellious chiefs, 236-237, and Santaras 227-228, release of the Son of, by Mussallmans, 235, and Sultans of

Madura, 249-250, titles of, 229, transfer of capital of, to Belur, 234, transfer of the capital of, to Tonnur, 239, and Vijayanagara, 245-248, on the West Coast, 244, and Yadavas, 226
Ballala IV: 250-251
Banavasi: 27, 86-89, 120-122, 146-147, 200
Basava: 289–290
Belur: 11, 41, 54, 58, 64, 234
Bhillama, Yadava: 153-156
Bijjala, Kalachurya: 121-122, 143
Bittiyana: 98-99
Chakrakotta: 82-83
Chalukyas: 5-6, 7, 34-35, 52, 63-64, 83, 90-93, 120, 141, 150–152
Changalvas: 36, 39, 60-61, 78-79, 118, 135-136, 181-195
Chariots: 255-256
Cheras: 3-4
Chola customs: 262-263
Cholas: 3-4, 7, 22, 25-26, 35, 50, 70, 72, 77, 107-108, 119, 172-177, 187-190, 217
Commerce: 265-267
Concubinage: 271
Court life: 268-269
Dancing, art of: 270
Dancing girls: 271-272
Dorasamudra: 10, 21, 42, 58, 89, 135, 186, 230-231, 236, 239
Elephants: 254-255
Ereyanga: different names of, 47, disputed geneology of, 48-50, family, 55, help given by, to Vinayaditya, 45, military activities of, 52, titles of, 53-54, and Chalukya Vikramaditya, 50, as Yuvaraja, 47-48
Gajapatis: 214-215
Games: 267
Ganga Raja, 28, 90-91, 99-104
Gangas: 6, 7, 27-28, 40, 54, 64, 106-107, 129, 165-166
Gangavadi: 35, 37-38, 44, 51, 59, 64, 100
Ghias-ud-din, Tughlak: 238
Gomata: 28, 42-43
Halebid: 11, 54; also see Dorasamudra
Hangal: 86-88, 120, 148-149
Harapala, Yadava: 235, 237
Harihara I: 242, 248-249
Horses: 253-254
Hoysala: administrative system, 252-253, architecture, 296-298 emblem, 17-18, ladies, 269-273, poets, 274-279

Hoysalas: 9, 11, 17, 22, 25-26, 28
Irungolas: 75, 200, 213
Jagadekamalla II, Chalukya: 62, 86, 92, 120-121
Jagadeva, Santara: 62-63
Jainas, Jainism: 42-43, 66, 100-103, 205, 217, 280-281
Jaithugi, Yadava: 156-157, 158
Jathavarman Sundara Pandya II: 191-193, 210
Jayakesi II, Kadamba: 89
Judicial Administration: 261-263
Kadambas: 27-28, 36, 86-90, 120, 147-150, 297
Kadavas: 177, 187; also see Pallavas
Kalachuryas: 121, 143-148
Kamadeva, Kadamba: 149-150
Kannanur: 185, 186, 193, 210
Kerala: 81
Kodagas: 136-137
Kongalvas: 26, 36, 76, 79-80, 118, 137
Krishna Kandhara, Yadava: 193-194
Kulasekhara, Hoysala: 245
Kulasekhara, Pandya: 230
Kulotunga Chola I: 51, 72
Kulotunga Chola III: 172-174
Kundani: 211-213
Literature: 273-279
Lingayat religion: 289-290
Madhvacharya: 292
Magaras: 188, 200-201
Mahadeva Changalva: 136
Malava: 52-53
Malaya: 81
Malik Kafur: 226-227, 229-235
Mallikarjuna, Kadamba: 88
Mariyane of Sindigere: 46, 65-66, 97-98
Mayuravarma III, Kadamba: 86
Muhammad Tughlak: 238-239
Maniya Ganga: 83
Narasimha I: accession to the throne, 166, and Chalukyas, 120 and Changalvas, 118, and Cholas, 119, feudatories of, 124-130, and Kadambas, 120, and Kongalvas, 118, moral conduct of, 131-132, queens of, 130-131, religion of, 290-291, temple building at the time of, 300-301, titles, of, 124

Narasimha II: and Ballala II, 169-170, birth of, 169, boundaries of the kingdom of, 181, and Cholas, 172-180, crowning of, 170, feudatories of, 182-183, and Pandyas, 180, queens of, 181, religion of the time of, 294, temple building of the time of, 303, and Yadavas, 170-172, as Yuvaraja, 168-169

Narasimha III: birth of, 199, death of, 204, domestic life of, 204-205, enthronement of, 199, feudatories of, 206-209, and Ramanatha, 212-216, religious inclinations of, 205-206, titles of, 204, and Yadavas, 199-204

Nolambavadi: 22, 63, 84-85, 124, 138

Nripa Kama: and Cholas, 26, death of, 29, and Gangas, 27, and Kadambas, 28, and Kongalvas, 26, and Sala, 19, 21

Pallavas: 6-7, 86, 177-181, 245

Pandyas: 3-4, 7-8, 84, 123, 138-143, 180, 188, 191-193, 211, 230

Pemma Virappa, Changalva: 136

Permadi Sinda: 92–93

Perunjinga, Kadava: 177–180, 187

Rajaraja III, Chola: 177-179, 187, 189

Rajendra Chola I: 26

Rajendra Chola II: see Kulotunga Chola I

Rajendra Chola III: 189-190

Ramachandra, Yadava: 200, 203, 225–227

Ramanatha: and Ballala III, 215, capital of, 211, and Cholas, 212, death of, 216, family of, 218, feudatories of, 219-220, kingdom after the death of, 223-224, and Narasimha III, 212-216, and Pandyas, 211, religion of, 217-218, titles of, 216

Ramanuja: 286–288

Ramayana: 3-4

Rastrakutas: 7, 22

Revenue system: 263-265

Saivas, Saivism: 66, 205-206, 217–218

Sala: capital of, 23, historicity of, 14, 18, identity of, 16-20, identification of, with Irungovel, 16, identification of, with Nripa Kama, 20, kingdom of, 22, mythologi-

cal geneolog of, 9, period of, 19–20, rise to power, 21, and the story of the tiger, 12-17
SANKARA YADAVA: 225, 230, 234
SANTARAS: 62, 200, 227–228
SASAKAPURA: 10, 11, 15, 21, 23–24, 41; also see Sosavur
SEVUNAS: see Yadavas
SINGHANA, YADAVA: 170, 193–194
SOMESWARA II, CHALUKYA: 34, 35, 37
SOMESWARA III, CHALUKYA: 92
SOMESWARA IV, CHALUKYA: 150–152
SOMESWARA, HOYSALA: and Changalvas, 195, and Cholas, 187–190, death of, 191–192, division of the kingdom of, 198-199, dual sovereignty of, 185, feudatories of, 196–197, and Kadavas, 187, and Magaras, 188, and Pandyas, 188, 191-193, period of, 184-185, queens of, 195–196, religion of, 294–295, revival of learning at the time of, 279, transfer of capital of, 185-186, and Yadavas, 193–194
SOSAVUR: 10, 11, 23, 24, 25, 41, 58
SRAVANA BELGOLA; 28, 41, 42
SRIRANGMA: 211
SUDATA MUNI: 15
SULTANS OF DELHI: 224–227
SULTANS OF MADURA: 240, 249–250
SUNDARA PANDYA: 230, 244
SWEETMEAT: 267
TAILAMA, KADAMBA: 120
TAILAPPA II, KADAMBA: 86, 88
TALAKAD: 27, 33, 38–39, 70–73, 245
TEMPLE: Amrteswara, 302; Harihara, 303, Hoysaleswara, 160–161, 300–301, Iswara, 303-304, Kedareswara, 302–303, Kesawa, 298, Somanathpur, 304–305
TONNUR: 234, 239
TULUVAS: 80–81, 137–138, 244
UCHCHANGI: 84-85, 123, 138–140
UDAYADITYA, HOYSALA: 49-50, 55, 58, 82
UDAYADITYA, PANDYA: 142–143
VAISNAVAS, VAISNAVISM: 70, 211, 217–218
VIJAYANAGARA: 24, 242, 245-248, 251

VIJAYA PANDYA: 138-143

VIKRAMADITYA VI, CHALUKYA: 31, 38, 50, 83, 90–92

VINAYADITYA: boundaries of the kingdom of, 38, capital of, 41, and Chalukyas, 34, and Changalvas, 36, Dorasamudra during the time of, 42, feudatories of, 39-41, and kongalvas, 36, parentage of, 30, period of, 30–33, queens of, 45–46, religion of the time of, 42–44, titles of, 33–35

VIRA PANDYA: 123, 230

VIRA RAJENDA CHOLA I: 26, 50, 51, 287

VISHNU PURANA: 2-3

VISHNUVARDHANA: agraharas of the time of, 274, architecture of the time [illegible], 228–299, and Ballala I, 59, and Banavasi, 86–89, and Chalukyas, 83, 90–93, and Cholas, 72, 77, conquests of, 70–95, conversion of, 281–285, court life of, 268, family of, 109-114, feudatories of, 97–109, and Ganga Raja, 99–104, and Kadambas, 86–90, and Muhammadans, 90, and Pandyas, 84, poets of the court of, 276, portrait of, 269, queens of 109–114, religious toleration of, 284–286, and Santala devi, 109–111, and Santaras, 62, and Talakad, 70-72, titles of, 93

VISWANATHA: crowning of, 217, kingdom after death of, 223–224, period of, 217

WARANGAL: 236, 238

WARFARE: method of, 253–260

YADAVAS: I, 153–156, 158–159, 170–172, 193–194, 199–204, 224–227